The Grammar of Karipuna Creole

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FOREWORD

It is customary for the 'Série Lingüística' of the Summer Institute of Linguistics to be published in Portuguese. Most of the articles or monographs are written in English by their authors and then translated. In this number however, we are departing from this practice and publishing the grammar of Karipuna Creole in English. We anticipate that this grammar will be of interest to creole scholars in all parts of the world, many of whom will not be readers of Portuguese. Any such scholar who could read it in Portuguese will almost certainly be able to read it in English also. It is likely that this is the only creole language spoken in Brazil. While on the one hand, this in itself is a good reason for publishing the grammar in the language of the country where it is spoken, on the other hand, it is the reason why interest in creole languages on the part of Brazilian scholars is less than that in European or Amerindian languages. In order to give this comprehensive study of Karipuna Creole the widest possible circulation, we are therefore departing from our usual practice. We trust that it will, nevertheless, be of interest to Brazilian linguists also.

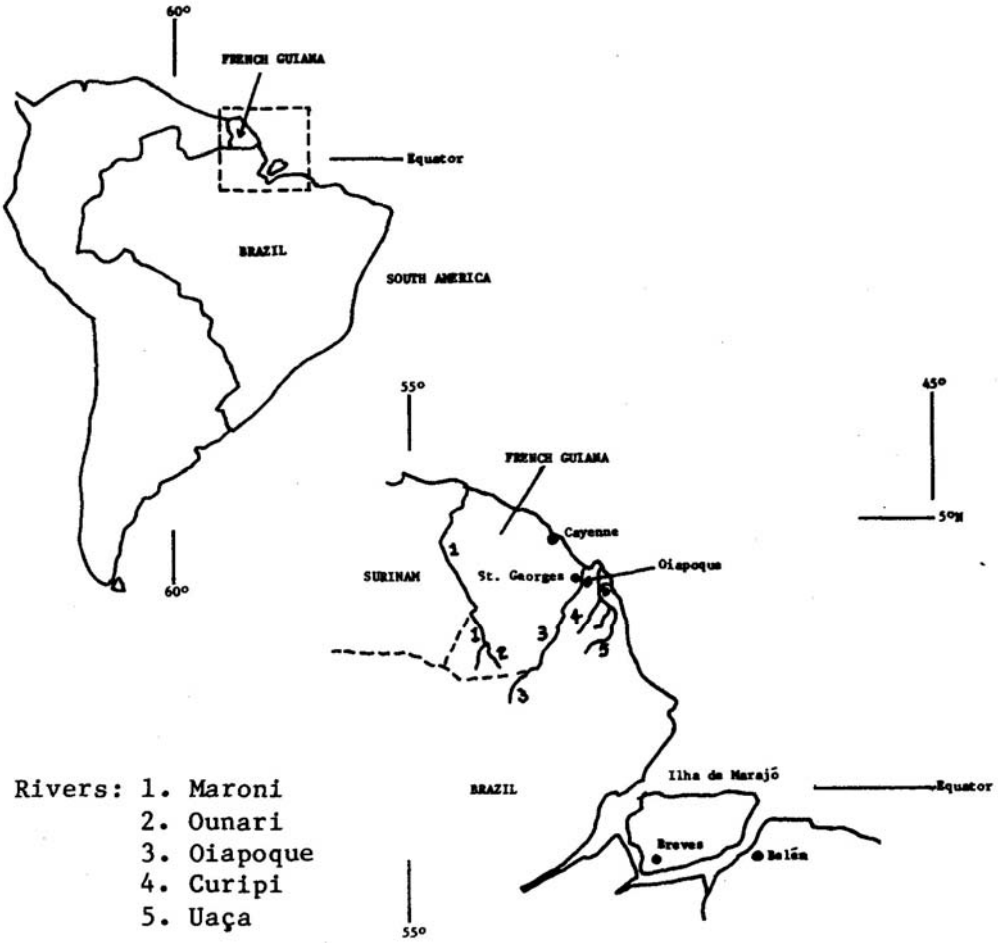
Eunice Grace Burgess

INTRODUCTION

The Karipuna Indians of Brazil, who number 400-600, now live in the northern part of the territory of Amapá, near the border with French Guiana. They inhabit three main villages and some smaller clusters of houses along the Curipi river. The oldest of these villages, Espírito Santo, has been the centre of the Karipuna tribal life for at least a century. It is thought that before this time the Karipunas were originally located in the state of Pará, speaking a Tupi language, and that they later (c.1830) moved to French Guiana, where they began speaking Creole, before settling along the Curipi river. (cf. Expedito Arnaud, 1969, p. 2-3, and see following maps.) The Karipunas today speak a dialect of the Guianese Creole, but appear to have retained some words of their original language (particularly in names of fauna and flora), as well as incorporating some Portuguese words. There is a considerable degree of integration with the Brazilian way of life, and an increasing influence of Portuguese is seen amongst the younger people due to the opportunity for elementary schooling by national teachers in the villages.

The presentation used in this paper follows the display grammar approach developed by Austin Hale (cf. Hale's article in SIL-40, 1973, fig. 7 p.13) in correlating semantic roles with surface structure slots in the clause and defining the transivity system in terms of the role structure. Clause structures are presented as formulas with each element labelled as to surface structure slot, filler class and semantic role.

Map to show areas inhabited by Karipuna in the last 150 years.



Karipuna migration in 19th century (according to Expedito Arnaud, 1969): from region of Breves, Brazil to Ounari River, French Guiana to Curipi River, Brazil.

LIST OF CHARTS

ANALYSIS

1. THE SENTENCE

There are two basic types of sentence: minor and major. The minor sentence may be simple or compound. The major sentence may be simple or complex. Both co-ordinate (conjoined or juxtaposed) and subordinate complex sentences occur.

1.1. The Minor Sentence.

The minor sentence usually consists of a monomorphemic utterance. Simple minor sentences are used to express the following, of which examples are given:

Exclamation	aa	'ah!'	ẽ	'oh'
Interjection	e'e'^{2}	'not at all'		
Response	wi	'yes'	nõ	'no'
Vocative	fwé	'brother'	muxe	'sir'
Verification	wakhé	'apparently'	djivét	'maybe'
Final Comment	bõ	'good!'	a sa	'that's it'
Greeting	bõ ju	'Good morning'	bõ swé	'Good evening'
Ideophone	txwa'	'twang'		

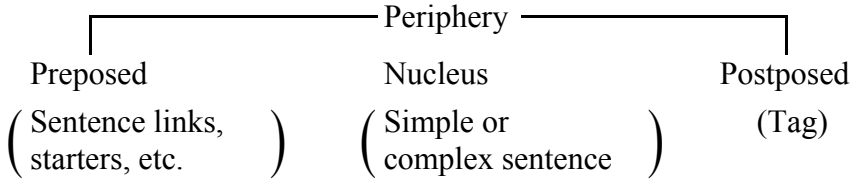
1.1.1. Compound Minor Sentence.

Occasionally two or three minor sentence elements are juxtaposed to form one utterance. For example:

wi muxe, a sa
yes mister Eq that
'Yes, sir, that's how it was.'

1.2. The Major Sentence.

The major sentence consists of a nucleus and periphery, as diagrammed:



The nucleus of the major sentence may be simple or complex.

1.2.1. **The Simple Sentence** consists of one independent clause.

li ale	gã mãyók la batxi?
3s go	have manioc there field
'He went.'	'Is there manioc in the field?'
mo te malad	li gã kat mwa
1s Tp ill	3s have four month
'I was ill.'	'She is four months old.'

1.2.2. **The Complex Sentence** may be co-ordinate or subordinate. In a co-ordinate sentence all clauses are independent; but in a subordinate sentence at least one clause is subordinate to a dependent or independent clause head. (See section 2.8. for definitions of dependent, subordinate, etc., as used in this paper.)

1.2.2.1. **Coordinate Sentences** are of two kinds: juxtaposed and conjoined.

Juxtaposed. Two or more independent clauses are linked only by intonation and breath pause, to express certain semantic relationships of time, reason, emphasis, etc.

(1) Coupling (A, B)

a pwomiyé fwé mo ale, mo pa le ale
Eq first time 1s go 1s Neg want go
'It was the first time I went, I didn't want to go.'

ye teka hete ãsam, ye fé ye kaz
3p Tp=i stay together 3p make 3pP house
'They were living together, they made their house.'

li hete la kaz, so mãmã malad tu le ju
3s stay here house 3sP mother ill all those day
'He stayed home, his mother was ill every day.'

(2) Contrast (A whilst B)

li voye so fwé sabhe, li mém ka hete
3s send 3sP brother cut 3s Emph Tpr=i stay
'He sent his brother to cut, whilst he himself stays (home).'

ale bola, mo k-ale wót bó la
go over=there 1s Tpr=i-go other side there
'You go over there, I'll go the other way.'

mo fwé ka txẽbe gho pwasõ, u mém a hẽ xévwét
1sP brother Tpr=i catch big fish, 2s Emph Eq only shrimp

u ka póte
2s Tpr=i bring
'My brother catches big fish, but you only bring shrimp.'

(3) Sequence (A then B)

li fé kafe, nu bwé, nu ale
3s make coffee 1p drink 1p go
'She made coffee, we drank (it), (then) we went.'

li bake, li phã so pagay, li kumase pagay
3s embark 3s take 3sP paddle 3s begin paddle
'He got in, picked up his paddle (and) began to paddle.'

ye fãde bwa, fé-n ghã djife, li voye ghãmun lãdã
3p chop wood make-a big fire 3s send old=person there-in
'They chopped wood, made a big fire, (and then) he threw the old-woman onto it.'

(4) Duration (A,A,A = A for a long time)

li maxe, li maxe, li maxe, li maxe
3s walk 3s walk 3s walk 3s walk
'He walked, he walked, he walked, he walked.'
(i.e., 'He walked on and on.' / 'He walked for a very long time.')

mo hete, mo hete, mo hete, mo hete
1s stay 1s stay 1s stay 1s stay
'1 stayed a long time.'

ye kumase bay mo héméd, ye bay mo héméd, ye bay
3p begin give 1s medicine 3p give 1s medicine 3p give

mo hémêd
1s medicine
'They kept on giving me medicine.'

(5) Expansion (A,A+)

li lave-l, li lave-l byã
3s wash-3s 3s wash-3s well
'He washed her, he washed her thoroughly.'

li maxe, li maxe pu djivã
3s walk 3s walk to ahead
'He walked, he walked on ahead.'

la nu dhómi, la la kaz dji mo bélmé nu dhómi
there 1p sleep there there house of 1sP mother=in=law 1p sleep
'There we slept, there in the house of my mother-in-law we slept.'
(i.e. 'We slept there in my mother-in-law's house.')

(6) Reiteration (A,A-)

pwomiyé fwé mo hive laba, mo hive
first time 1s arrive there 1s arrive
'(It was) the first time I arrived there, I arrived.'

mo ale kote dona dalin, mo ale
1s go to Dona Dalina 1s go
'I went to Dona Dalina's, I went.'

li sal tut so fléx ke djisã laghatxis, li sal
3s dirty all 3sP arrow with blood lizard 3s dirty

so fléx
3sP arrow
'He dirtied his arrow all over with lizard's blood, he dirtied his arrow.'

(7) Paraphrase (A,B where A=B)

so tét du, li sót
3s head hard 3s stupid
'His head is thick, he's stupid.'

a laba mo te fika, a la mo teka hete
Eq there 1s Tp be=at Eq there 1s Tp=i stay
'It is there I had been, it is there I was staying.' (i.e., 'That is where I stayed.')

li khaze-1 tut, li txue-l tut
2s squash-3s all 3s kill-3s all
'He squashed them all, he killed them all.'

(8) Reason (A because B)

li pa le bwé, li xo
3s Neg want drink 3s hot
'She didn't want to drink (it), (because) it was hot.'

mo gã tximun, la ye opehe mo
1s have child there 3p operate 1s
'I have a child (because) they operated on me there.'

mo pa kónét laba, pwómiyé fwé mo hive laba
1s Neg know there first time 1s arrive there
'I didn't know (anything) there, (because) it was the first time I went there.'

Conjoined Two independent clauses (Clause A and Clause B) are linked by a conjunction to express either reason or constraint. In a conjoined sentence, the omission of the conjunction does not alter the meaning of the sentence, but would change its status to that of a juxtaposed sentence.

(1) Reason (A because B)

li pa puve pase li malad
3s Neg able because 3s ill
'He cannot, because he is ill.'

li ale la sidadj pase li le axte so bagaj
3s go there city because 3s want buy 3sP thing
'He went to town because he wanted to buy stuff.'

mo pa mãje-l pase li gha boku
1s Neg eat-3s because 3s fatty much
'I did not eat it because it was too fatty.'

u ka kólé ke mo kumã mo txue sa mun
2s Tpr=i angry with 1s how 1s kill that person
'You are angry with me because I killed the man.'

(2) Constraint (A but B)

mo pa le ale mẽ mo ale
1s Neg want go but 1s go
'I didn't want to go but I went.'

ye dji li hive mẽ mo pa-õkó wé-l
3p say 3s arrive but 1s Neg-yet see-3s
'They said he arrived but I haven't seen him yet.'

mo le vãde-l maz li pa-õkó pahe
1s want sell-3s but 3s Neg-yet ready
'I want to sell it but it is not ready yet.'

1.2.2.2. Subordinate Sentences consist of a subordinate clause (S) and an independent or dependent clause head (H) to express condition, purpose comparison and time. The subordinate clause carries an obligatory subordinating marker at the beginning of the clause. This marker (unlike the conjunction in conjoined sentences) cannot be omitted if the sentence is to retain the same meaning.

(1) Conditional - marker si

- Authentic (if S, H)

si li ka hive, li ke bõ
if 3s Tpr=i arrive 3s Tf good
'If he arrives, it will be good.'

si li mi, nu ke mãje-l
if 3s ripe 1p Tf eat-3s
'If it is ripe, we will eat it.'

si-l ka vin, mo ke pale ke-l
if-3s Tpr=i come 1s Tf talk with-3s
'If he comes, I will speak with him.'

- Generalization (if S, H)

si u kupe vitmã, ka fãde
if 2s cut quickly Tpr=i break
'If you cut (it) quickly, it breaks.'

si mun ãvi wasey, si-l pa mãje, ka sótxi
if person crave "açai" if-3s Neg eat Tpr=i come=out

lasu tximun
on child
'If (a pregnant woman) craves "açai", and if she does not eat (it), (it's mark) will come out on her child."

- Hypothetical (if S had been, H would have)

si-l te hive, mo teke pale ke-l
if-3s Tp arrive 1s Tc speak with-3s
'If he had come I would have spoken with him.'

si mo te gã lajõ, mo teke axte wun hadj
if 1s Tp have money 1s Tc buy one radio
'If I had had the money, I would have bought a radio.'

The following relationships have been observed between the tense markers of the two clauses in the conditional sentence:

	Conditional Clause (S)	Main Clause (H)
Authentic	ka (present incomplete)	ke
	# (present complete)	ke
Generalization	-- omission of ka in present incomplete	ka
Hypothetical	te (past complete)	teke

(2) Purpose - marker pu

- Feasible (H in order that S)

li hive pu koze ke mo
3s arrive for talk with 1s
'He arrived to talk with me.'

li ka bui-l pu li mu
3s Tpr=i boil-3s for 3s soft
'She is boiling it so that it will be soft.'

li bay li pu li bwé
3s give 3s to 3s drink
'He gave it (to him) to drink.' (i.e., in order that he should drink it)

- Non-feasible (H, therefore S not possible)

batõ pa ka bay pu plãte tut batxi
sticks Neg Tpr=i give for plant all field
'There were not sufficient shoots for planting the whole field.'

p-ka bay tã pu mo tóne
Neg-Tpr=i give time for 1s return
'There isn't time for me to return.'

u tho pitxi pu ale pexe
2s too small for go fish
'You are too small to go fishing.'

(3) Comparative

- Real (H just as S), marker kumã

mo txue ye tut kumã u mém pa txue sa hẽ mux
1s kill 3p all just=as 2s Emph. Neg kill that only wasp
'I killed them all, just as you did not kill only that one wasp (but all of them).'

- Imaginary (H as if S), marker kõ/kõsi

so bux huj kõ batõ pase
3sP mouth red as=if stick pass
'His mouth is red as if he'd used lipstick.'

mo pa kónét ayẽ kõsi mo hive ãfẽ
1s Neg know nothing as=if 1s arrive stupid
'I didn't understand or know anything--as if I had become stupid.'

(4) Temporal

- marker kã (when S, H)

kã li sék, u ka hamase-l
when 3s dry 2s Tpr=i gather-3s
'When it is dry you gather it together.'

kã nu hive la kabé, mo fé-l kuxe
when 1p arrive there hut 1s make-3s lie=down
'When we reached the hut, I made him lie down.'

-marker ló (when S, H)

ló ye opehe mo, mo fé-n somey
when 3p operate 1s 1s make-a sleep
'When they operated on me, I was in a sleep.'

ló só fwé hive, li puse lapót la
when 3sP brother arrive 3s push door Ind
'When his brother arrived he pushed the door.'

NB Both kã and ló appear to indicate the same variety of time sequence relationships between clauses. The distinction between the terms is found in their function in discourse, where kã seems to indicate a local time referent, while ló introduces a general time setting for all that follows.

- marker xak (whenever S, H)

xak li k-ale a laba li k-ale dhómi
each 3s Tpr=i-go Eq there 3s Tpr=i-go sleep
'Whenever he goes, that is where he sleeps.'

- marker avã (before S, H)

avã li ale, li dji wi
before 3s go 3s say yes
'Before he went, he said, "Yes." '

-marker dji pi tã (since S, H)

```
dji  pi   tã   zót  ale,  li  malad
from more time 2p   go    3s  ill
```

'Since (from the time) you left, he has been ill.'

-marker aphe (after S, H)

```
aphe  li  sék,  nu  hamase-l
after 3s  dry   1p  collect-3s
```

'After it is dry we collect it.'

-marker juk tã (H until S)

```
u  ka   bhase-l  juk  tã   li  sẽk
2s Tpr=i stir-3s  until time 3s  dry
```

'You stir it until it is dry.'

1.2.2.3. Merged Sentences. A complex sentence is said to be merged if at least one element is functioning in both clauses of the sentence at the same time (though not necessarily in the same role in both clauses), but is overtly expressed in the first clause only. Some coupled and feasible-purpose sentences may be merged in this way. In merged sentences, the underlying sentences may be easily reconstructed.

(i)
```
li  voye  so  fwé   sabhe
3s  send  3sP brother cut=down
```
'He sent his brother to cut.'

This is the merger of an independent clause and a subordinate purpose clause:

```
li  voye  so  fwé,  pu  li  sabhe
```
'He sent his brother in order that he (brother) should cut.'

(ii)
```
li  mete-l  asi  la   djivã  lapót
3s  put-3s  sit  there in=front door
```
'He put her sitting there in front of the door.'

This is a merger of two coupled independent clauses:

```
li  mete-l  la  djivã  lapót,  li  asi  la
```
'He put her in front of the door, she sat there.'

(iii) The common use of the verb ale 'go' in an apparently auxiliary verb role is considered to be the head of one of two merged clauses.

```
mo  k-ale   plãte  mo  batxi
1s  Tpr=i-go plant  lsp field
```
'I'm going to plant my field.'

This is a merger of an independent clause and a subordinate purpose clause,

```
mo  k-ale, pu  plãte  mo  batxi
```
'I'm going in order to plant my field.'

or possibly a merger of two coupled clauses:

```
mo  k-ale, mo  ke  plãte  mo  batxi
```
'I am going, I will plant my field.'

1.2.2.4.

Semantic Relationship	Surface Structure			
	Co-ordinate		Subordinate	Merged
	Conjoined	Juxtaposed		
Coupling		X		X
Contrast		X		
Sequence		X		
Duration		X		
Expansion		X		
Reiteration		X		
Paraphrase		X		
Reason 1		X		
Reason 2	X			
Constraint	X			
Conditional				
authentic			X	
hypothetical			X	
Purpose				
feasible			X	X
non-feasible			X	
Comparative				
real			X	
imagined			X	
Temporal			X	

Figure 1. The semantic relationships and surface structure of complex systems.

1.3. The Periphery.

The periphery of the major sentence consists of both pre-nuclear and post-nuclear elements.

1.3.1. Pre-Nuclear Periphery expresses the following, of which examples are given:

Logical link	ẽbé	'well then'
Temporal link	djila	'after that'
Response	wi	'yes'
Vocative	madam	'madam'

Rarely, two pre-nuclear elements may occur in juxtaposition

mẽ, kamahad ......

'Nevertheless, friend, (so and so happened).'

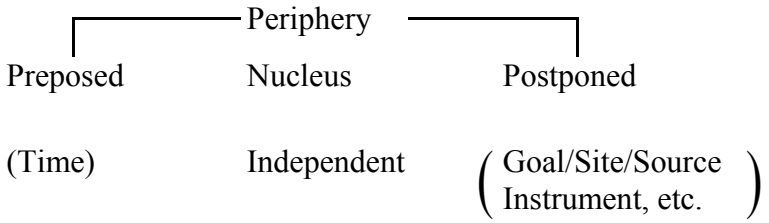
1.3.2. Post-Nuclear Periphery expresses tag questions or statements. For example:

nõ?	'(You are going to do it), aren't you?'
u save	'. . ., you understand'

2. THE CLAUSE

2.1. Systematization.

The clause consists of a nucleus and periphery, as diagrammed:



The clause nucleus may be classified semantically on a two-way basis according to (i) inherent (though not necessarily always overt) obligatory roles (see Fig. 5 for definitions of role terms) and (ii) activity aspect, as shown in Fig. 2.

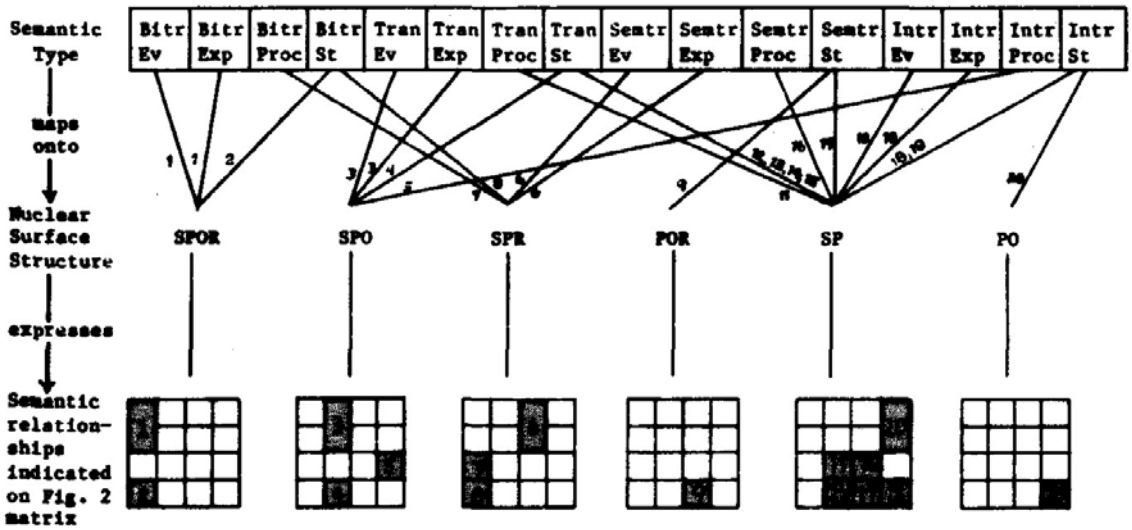
Activity \ Roles		+ Patient + Scope	+ Patient	+ Scope	#
+ Agent	Event	Bitrans. Event	Trans. Event	Semitrans. Event	Intrans. Event
	Experience	Bitrans. Exper.	Trans. Exper.	Semitrans. Exper.	Intrans. Exper.
- Agent	Process	Bitrans. Process	Trans. Process	Semitrans. Process	Intrans. Process
	State	Bitrans. State	Trans. State	Semitrans. State	Intrans. State

Figure 2. Classification of clause nuclei according to roles and activity.

(This chart is based on the display by A. Hale in Figure 7, p.13, of his introductory article in 'Clause, Sentence, & Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal' Part 1, SIL 1973.)

The semantic differences expressed by these sixteen semantic types are manifested in the surface structure either in the basic structure (i.e., the inherent presence or absence of subject, object, predicate and referent slots), or in the potential of the basic clause type to be transformed into another type, or in the possible or non-possible use of auxiliary verbs in the predicate, etc. These distinctions will be dealt with in more detail in section 2.3.

Each of these semantic clause types is mapped onto one or more of the six basic surface structure types, as indicated in Fig. 3.



Numbers refer to contrastive clause types shown in Fig. 4 and detailed thereafter. Key: s - Subject, P - Predicate, O - Object, R - Referent.

Figure 3. Mapping of semantic clause types onto basic surface structures.

The six basic surface structure types may be further sub-divided according to the role of the subject and to structural differences within the predicate (see section 3.1.), thus giving rise to the contrastive clause types shown in Fig. 4. The symbol # is used to represent a semantically empty or null role, often with a dummy surface filler (such as is expressed by 'it' in the sentence 'It was night-time.').

Surface Structure	Subject Role	Role Structure	Semantic Type	Name of Clause	Ref. No.
S P O R	agent	Ag Pat Sc	Bitr Ev/Exp	Bitransitive	1
	patient	Pat Sc	Bitr St	Comparative	2
S P O	agent	Ag Pat	Tran Ev/Exp	Transitive	3
	patient	Pat Sc	Tran St	Possessive	4
	# (li)	#	Intr Proc	Occasional	5
S P R	agent	Ag Sc	Semitr Ev/Exp	Semitransitive	6
	patient	Pat Sc	Bitr Proc	Circumstantial	7
	scope	Pat Sc	Bitr St	Descriptive	8
POR	(R as scope)	Sc	Semitr St	Existential	9
S P	agent	Ag	Intr Ev/Exp	Intransitive	10
	patient	Pat	Tran Proc	Receptive	11
	patient	Pat	Tran St	Attributive	12
	patient	Pat	Tran St	Complementive	13
	patient	Pat	Tran St	Locative	14
	patient (a)	Pat	Tran St	Identificational	15
	scope	Sc	Semitr Proc	Progressive	16
	scope	Sc	Semitr St	Extentive	17
	# (li)	#	Intr St	Ambientive	18
	# (li)	#	Intr St	Temporal	19
P O	--	#	Intr St	Durational	20

Figure 4. Contrastive clause types.

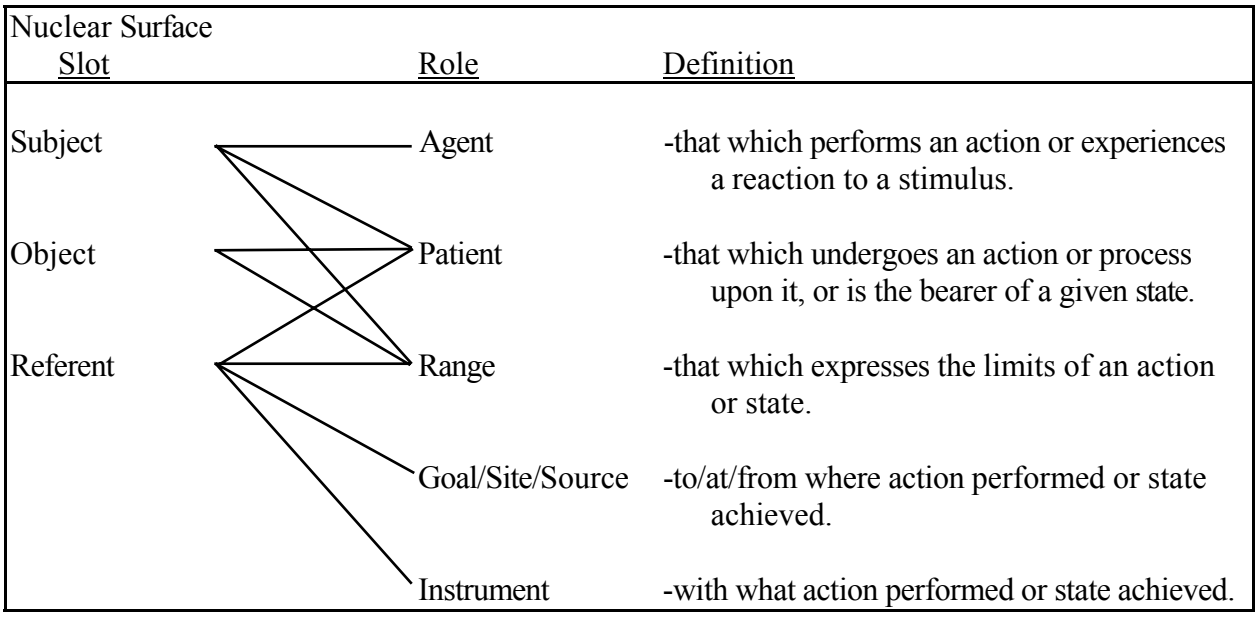


Figure 5. Terminology and relationship between surface slots and semantic roles

The term Scope is used as an inclusive role term for all the roles of the referent when a given clause type may take a variety of roles in its referent slot.

The term Adjunct is used for any peripheral surface slot. Adjuncts may have any of the following roles:

Goal/Site/Source
Instrument
Manner (ex: quickly, quietly)
Means (ex: by canoe, by road)
Company
Time

The twenty clause types thus identified positions in the matrix as shown in Fig. 6.

The division of the State row here (into State A and State B) is on the basis of the two different types of predicate nucleus (non-verbal or with a figurative-verb) found in state clauses. See Fig. 8.

Event / Experience		Bitransitive 1)	Transitive (3)	Semitransitive (6)	Intransitive (10)
Process		Circumstantial (7)	Receptive (11)	Progressive (16)	Occasional 5)
State	A	Descriptive (8)	Att(12)/Cpl(13) Loc(14)/Idf(15)	Extentive (17)	Ambientive (18) Temporal (19)
	B	Comparative (2)	Possessive (4)	Existential (9)	Durational (20)

Key: Att = Attributive, Cpl = Complementive, Loc = Locative, Idf = Identificational

Figure 6. Positions of clause types within the role-activity matrix

Three further basic clause types of causation, quotation and cognition (in all of which the object slot is filled by a clause) will be dealt with separately as ditransitive clauses in section 2.5. There are also one or two "frozen form" idioms which do not concur with the normal surface-role mapping patterns, and these are mentioned in section 4.

2.2. Basic Contrastive Clause Types.

Of these twenty clause types, some occur frequently as basic (non-derived) forms, while others occur infrequently as basic forms and more frequently as derived forms (i.e., forms derived from some other clause type). One type, "Occasional", occurs only as a derived form. Where a derived clause is given as an example of a clause type, it will be indicated by (Der).[3] Examples not so labelled are assumed to be basic, non-derived forms.

The relationships between the surface structure, the fillers of the surface structure slots and their semantic roles are formulated for each contrastive clause type. The elements of each formula show the following features in the positions indicated:

1	2
3	

1) surface structure slot
2) surface structure slot filler
3) semantic role expressed in that slot

(cf. Pike & Pike, 1977, p.35.)

Whereas the roles (Agent, Patient, etc.) are determined solely on semantic grounds, the surface slots (Subject, Referent, etc.) are determined largely by the word order within the clause, and by the presence of relator markers. Thus Subject always precedes the predicate, Object always follows the predicate, either directly or, as in some bitransitives, after a pronominal referent; Referent is usually clause final and introduced by a relator (ex; dji 'from', ke 'with'), but occasionally in bitransitives occurs as a single pronoun directly after the predicate and before the object; Predicate follows the subject where there is one. In the case of non-verbal predicate heads, the predicate may also be determined by its potential to take an initial negative marker pa.

2.2.1. Bitransitive S P O R

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)	O	Nph	R	RAph/Nph
Ag		Ev/Exp		Pat		Sc	

mo / axte / de djize / dji u papa
1s buy two egg from 2sP father
'I bought two eggs from your father.'

Sc=source

mo / ke bay / de djize / pu u
1s Tf give two egg to 2s
'I will give you two eggs.'

Sc=goal

li / mete / so bagaj / la su tab
3s put 3sP thing there on table
'He put his things on the table.'

Sc=site

mun / bhase / ye kwak / ke un fakay
person stir 3pP "farinha" with a spatula
'People stir their "farinha" with a spatula.'

Sc=instrument

When the referent is manifested by a pronoun, it precedes the object. This may occur when the referent role is goal, and occurs when the referent is range for one or two particular verbs.

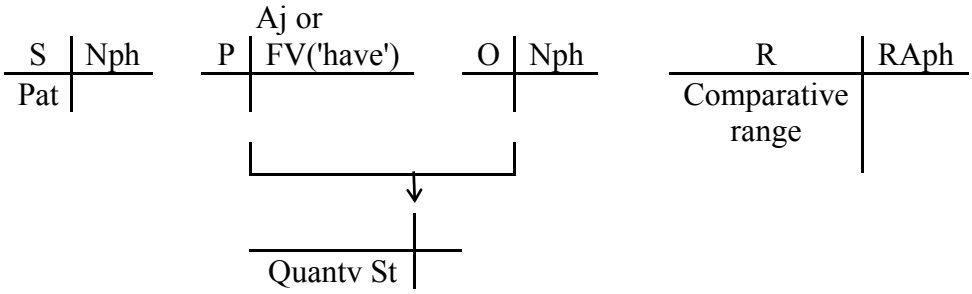
S P R O
ye / k-aple / mo / bix
3p Tpr=i-call 1s deer
'They call me Deer.'

Sc=range

li / bay / mo / de djize
3s give 1s two egg
'He gave me two eggs.'

Sc=goal

2.2.2. Comparative S P O R



The formula shows that the surface structure SPOR is a manifestation of the underlying semantic structure: Patient – State – Range. In other words, the semantic predicate (State) is manifest in the surface structure as Predicate plus Object. (FV = Figurative Verb; see section 3.1.1)

ghãmun la // gã / wun mwa // la su-l
old=person Ind have one month there on-3s
'The old lady is one month older than him.'

u // hot / de pam // dji mo
2s tall two palm from 1s
'You are two palms taller than me.'

The referent in this clause type is considered obligatory since its deletion, while appearing to form a possessive clause (see clause type 4), does not in fact convey the true meaning. For example, the first example would then read, 'The old lady is one month old.', which is clearly contrary to fact.

2.2.3. Transitive S P O

S	Nph	P	Vph(H=V)	O	Nph
Ag		Ev/Exp		Pat	

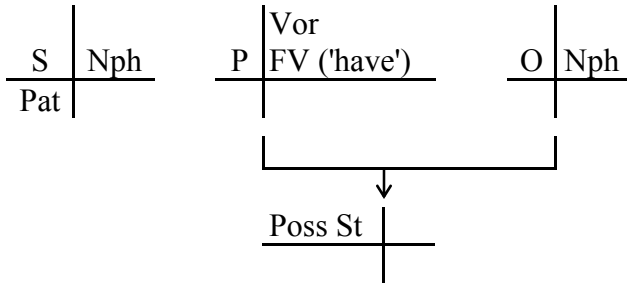
mo / ka lave / mo kó
1s Tpr=i wash lsP body
'I am washing myself.'

nu / ka mãje / kaymã
lp Tpr=i eat alligator
'We are eating alligator.'

mo / ka plime / pul
1s Tpr=i pluck hen
'I am plucking the chicken.'

Idiom: nu / ke bay / zés
lp Tf give solution
'We will find a way.'

2.2.4. Possessive S P O



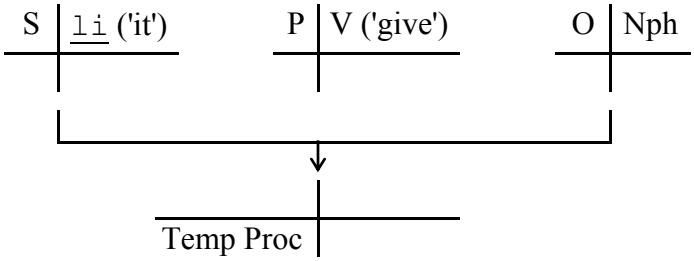
(Underlying semantic structure: Patient-State)

kadjinal // gã / tét huj	mo // gã / kat tximun
cardinal (bird) have head red	1s have four child
'The cardinal has a red head.'	'I have four children.'
mo // gã / wun plẽ sódjé	mo // gã / vẽt ane
1s have one full cooking=pot	1s have twenty year
'I have one potful.'	'I am twenty years old.'
li // te gã / thwa mét	li // gã / thwa kilo
3s Tp have three metre	3s have three kilo
'It was three metres (long).'	'It weighs three kilos.'

tximun // gã / lame ghate
child have hand rasping
'The child likes to touch everything.' (Lit. 'The child has a grating/rasping hand.')

See also section 2.4.

2.2.5. Occasional S P O



(Underlying semantic structure: Process)

(Der) li bay / minwi
3s give midnight
'It became midnight.'

(This is derived from a temporal clause by the addition of an auxiliary verb.)

(Der) (ló) li / ka bay / aswé
hour 3s Tpr=i give evening
'(When) it becomes evening.' (i.e., 'When evening comes.')

(Der) li / bay / ló (pu ale)
3s give hour to go
'It became time (to go).'

Idiom: li / bay / mun
3s give people
'There were enough people (for the job).'

This clause type occurs almost exclusively as a subordinate time clause, or as a dependent result clause.

The members of the occasional clause type are said to be derived because of their use of an auxiliary verb. No basic members of such a clause type, i.e., having a surface structure SPO and a process predicate, have yet been found.

2.2.6. Semitransitive S P R

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)	R	RAph/Locph
Ag		Ev/Exp		Sc	

ye / sótxi / dji lekól
3p come=out from school
'They left school.'
Sc=source

nu tut / k-ale / ofõ
1p all Tpr=i-go yonder
'We are all going over there.'
Sc=goal

li / te asi / la su bã
3s Tp sit there on bench
'He was seated there on the bench.'
(or: 'He sat on the bench.')
Sc=site

li / ka kólé / ke mo
3s Tpr=i be=angry with 1s
'He is angry with me.'
Sc=range

mo / abitwe / ke li
1s be=accustomed=to with 3s
'I'm accustomed to it.'
Sc=range

The semitransitives taking a range referent may in some sense be regarded as pseudo-transitive verbs since the referent may almost be regarded as a patient. However, the presence of the relator ke and the fact that the referent might be unaffected or even unaware of the action directed at it suggests that the referent expresses more the limits of the action, and is thus being considered as range.

2.2.7. Circumstantial S P R

(i)

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)	R	RAph/Nph
Pat		Proc		Range	

so sulye / ka mele / ãdã hadje
3sP shoe Tpr=i mix in weeds
'His shoes are getting tangled in the weeds.'

so lapo / ka bule / ãdã djife
3sP skin Tpr=i burn in fire
'Its skin is burning in the fire.'

(ii)

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)	R	RAph
Range		Proc		Pat	

(Der) li / ka plẽ / ke dlo
3s Tpr=i full with water
'It is filling with water.'
(This is derived from the Descriptive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.8.)

It will be seen that this derived type, while having the same basic surface structure (SPR) and roles (Pat-Proc-Range) as the basic type, exhibits a different role-surface mapping, the range and patient roles being reversed in relation to the surface subject and referent.

2.2.8. Descriptive S P R

(i)

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=Aj)	R	RAph
Range		St		Pat	

pye kwi la / xaje / ke pitxit
tree gourd Ind laden with offspring
'The gourd tree is laden with fruit.'

so sódjé / plẽ / ke wasey
3sP pan full with "açai"
'Her pan is full of "açai".'

(ii)

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=verbal Aj)	R	RAph
Pat		St		Sc	

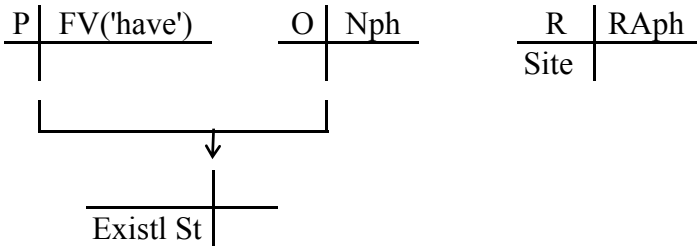
(Der) ye tut / mahe / ke kód
3p all tie with cord
'The y are all tied with ropes.'

Sc=instrument

(This is derived from the Bitransitive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.1.)

As in the derived circumstantial clause type, the derived descriptive clause also shows a different role-surface mapping than the basic clause member, and the predicate head is a verb used here participially (and which may occur elsewhere as an adjective in a noun phrase).

2.2.9. Existential P O R



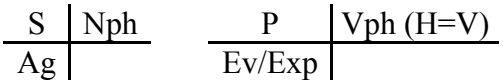
(Underlying semantic structure: State-Site)

```
gã /  mãyók //  la   batxi
have  manioc    there field
'There is manioc in the field.'
```

```
te  gã /  boku  mun //  la
Tp  have  much  person  there
'There were many people there.'
```

See section 2.4.

2.2.10. Intransitive S P




```
mun   la /  ka   dãse
people Ind  Tpr=i dance
'The people are dancing.'
```

```
mo /  dhómi
1s    sleep
'I slept.'
```

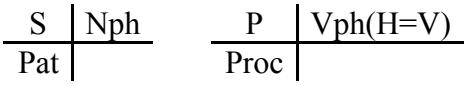
```
u   tximun /  hõte
2sP child     shy
'Your child is shy.'
```

```
Idiom: lohaj /  ka   ghõde
       thunder  Tpr=i roar
       'The thunder is roaring.'
       (i.e., 'It is thundering.')
```

```
Idiom: suku /  ka   vin
       darkness Tpr=i come
       'Night is coming.'
       (i.e., 'It is becoming dark.')
```

2.2.11. Receptive S P

(i)




```
xẽ /  ka   xode
dog   Tpr=i heat
'The dog is in heat.'
```

```
txi  gasõ /  ka   xofe
little boy   Tpr=i warm
'The little boy is getting warm.'
```

```
li /  fwedji  (nanwit)
3s    chill   (in=night)
'He became chilled in the night.'
(or: 'He had chills in the night.')
```

```
Idiom: batõ /  p-ka    bay
       stick   Neg-Tpr=i give
       'The cuttings are not proving sufficient
       (to plant the whole field).'
```

S	Nph	P	Vph(H=Aj)
Pat		Proc	

(Der) li / vin su
3s come drunk
'He became drunk.'

(This is derived from the Attributive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.12)

(Der) u / ka hive még
2s Tpr=i arrive thin
'You are getting thin.'

A rare derived form uses the adjective head with the processive present tense marker ka.

(Der) li ka mi
3s Tpr=i mi
'It will become ripe.'

2.2.12. Attributive S P

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=Aj)
Pat		St	

u muxe / su
2s husband drunk
'Your husband is drunk.'

mo lẽj / te sék
1sP clothes Tp dry
'My clothes were dry.'

myél li / dus
honey 3s sweet
'Honey is sweet.'

2.2.13. Complementive S P

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=N)
Pat		Cpl St	

mo / sa mét
1s Com teacher
'I am a teacher.'

li / sa xofé dji aviõ
3s Com driver of aeroplane
'He is a pilot.'

(tã dji) txig ye / te sa mun
(time of) jaguar 3p Tp Com people
'(In the days when) jaguars were people.'

The noun head of the verbal phrase is preceded by an apparent demonstrative, but sa here has a restricted and specific function as a complement marker (rather than the normal demonstrative function), relating the subject to the predicate.

2.2.14. Locative S P

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=Loc)
Pat		Loc St	

li / la	mo / dhét mitã	ye / pa te isi
3s there	1s straight middle	3p Neg Tp here
'He is there.'	'I am right in the middle.'	'They were not here.'
(or, idiom: 'He's alive.')		

2.2.15. Identificational S P

S	Eq	P	Vph (H=N)
Pat		Idf St	

a / mopa	a / zót tximun?	a / te sẽk é
Eq 1sPP	Eq 2pP child	Eq Tp five hour
'It is mine.'	'Is that your child?'	'It was five o'clock.'

It is not clear whether the equative a is functioning here as a subject or as part of the predicate. It differs from the complementive marker in that it precedes the nuclear tense marker of the predicate. It is possible, however, (though uncommon) to state the subject. For example:

sa liv a mopa
this book Eq 1sPP
'This book is mine.'

In the above example, a is considered to be an appositional subject.[4]

Cf. sa tab, li hot
this table 3s tall
'This table is high.' (lit. = 'This table, it is high.')

2.2.16. Progressive S P

(i)

S	Nph	P	Vph(H=V)
Range		Proc	

lóminét / ka ghõfle	mo dwét / ka ghate
omelette Tpr=i swell	1sP finger Tpr=i itch
'The omelette is puffing up.'	'My finger is itching.'

so jam / ghõfle
3sP leg swell
'His leg swelled up.'

(ii)

S	Nph
Range	

P	Vph(H=Aj)
Proc	

(Der) so kaz / ka hive fwé
3sP house Tpr=i arrive cold
'His house is getting cold.'
(i.e., because lacking occupants)

(This is derived from the Extentive Clause type. cf. section 2.2.17.)

2.2.17. Extentive S P

(ii)

S	Nph
Range	

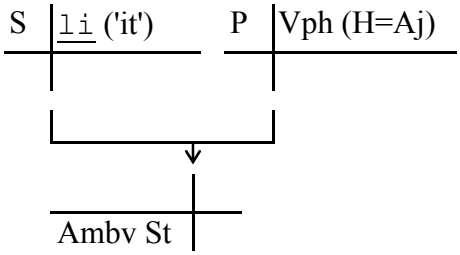
P	Vph(H=Aj)
St	

mo dwét / ãfle
1sP finger swollen
'My finger is swollen.'

bom la / vid
tin Ind empty
'The tin is empty.'

u kaz / te fwé
2sP house Tp cold
'Your house was cold.'
(i.e., while you were away)

2.2.18. Ambientive S P

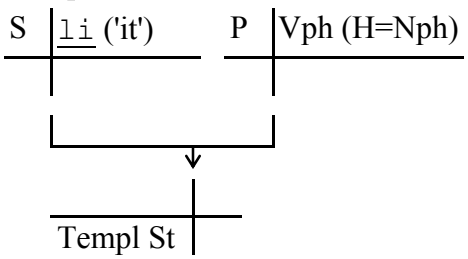


(underlying semantic structure: State)

li / te bonó
3s Tp early
'It was early.'

li / suku (deha)
3s dark (already)
'It is dark already.'

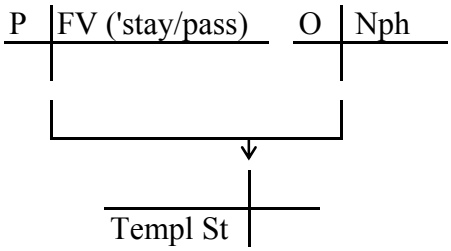
2.2.19. Temporal S P



(Underlying semantic structure: State)

li / te aswé	li / midji deha	li / ju bomãtẽ
3s Tp evening	3s noon already	3s day early=morning
'It was evening.'	'It is already midday.'	'It is dawn.'

2.2.20. Durational P O



(underlying semantic structure: State)

hete / un bõ tã	pase / un sis mwa
stay a good time	pass a six month
'much later'/'after a while'/'It was much later.'	'six months later'/'after six months'

hete / de ju
stay two day
'after two days'/'Two days passed.'

This idiomatic expression fills a peripheral temporal slot in the clause, or is used as a temporal subordinate clause in a subordinate sentence.

2.3. Evidence for the separation of twenty Contrastive Clause Types is charted in Fig. 7 & 8. The columns of Fig. 2 are distinguished by the characteristics shown in Fig. 7, and the rows by Fig. 8.

Columns	Obligatory Roles
Bitransitive	+Pat +Sc
Transitive	+Pat –Sc
Semitransitive	–Pat +Sc
Intransitive	–Pat –Sc

Figure 7.

Rows	Obligatory Role	Present Tense Marker	Predicate Nucleus	Modal Transform	Auxiliary Verb 'begin'
Event	+Ag	+ka	+V	+Impv	+
Experience	+Ag	-ka	+V	–Impv	+
Process	–Ag	+ka	+V	–Impv	+
State A	–Ag	-ka	–V	–Impv	–
State B	–Ag	-ka	+FV	–Impv	–

Figure 8.

It is considered that one difference in obligatory role structure is sufficient warrant for division of types. Thus it will be seen from Fig. 7 that the transitivity distinction of the columns is clear, and from Fig. 8 that events and experiences may be distinguished from processes and states.

The two differences between events and experiences (tense marker and modal transform), however, are not considered sufficient evidence for a separation of contrastive types. Thus both bitransitive events and bitransitive experiences are classified together as Bitransitive (etc). However, the three differences between processes and states (tense marker, predicate nucleus and auxiliary verb) are considered sufficient to contrast these two rows of the Fig. 2 matrix.

The predicate nucleus is said to be verbal (+V) or non-verbal (–V) on the basis of the Vph head of its basic members. Derived members of process clauses may have a non-verbal Vph head plus an auxiliary V, and the nucleus is thus considered verbal; whereas derived state clauses may have an apparent V head, but the V is used there in a participial/adjectival sense, and the nucleus is thus considered non-verbal.

It remains, therefore, to offer evidence for the contrasting types postulated in each column of the state rows (see Fig. 6). This is charted in Fig. 9, which shows two or more contrastive features for each pair of contrastive types within each column.

	Pred Head	Subj Role	Transform to process	Transform to Identi-ficational	Special Particle
Descriptive	AJ	Sc	+	–	–
Comparative	FV+N	Pat	–	–	–
Attributive	AJ	Pat	+	+	–
Complementive	N	Pat	+	–	sa
Locative	Loc	Pat	–	–	–
Identification	N	Pat	–	(+)	(a)
Possessive	FV+N	Pat	–	–	–

	Pred Head	Subj Role	Transform to process	Transform to Identi-fication	Special Particle
Extentive	AJ	Sc	+	+	–
Existential	FV+N	–	–	–	–
{ Ambientive	Aj	#	–	–	–
{ Temporal	N	#	+	–	–
Durational	PV+N	–	–	–	–

Figure 9. Evidence for the separation of contrastive state clauses.

2.4. Idioms.

There are a few idiomatic expressions which must be treated separately since their semantic role-surface structure mapping relationships do not concur with the normal patterns outlined in sections 2.1 - 2.3. Where idioms have been of the same pattern as basic clause types, they have been indicated by examples in section 2.2.

(1) `li / aa bay / ke Pyé so gu`
3s Neg give with Peter 3sP taste
'It was not to Peter's taste.'
(i.e., 'Peter did not like/approve of it.')

Surface	S	P	R
Semantic	Pat	Exp	Ag(Expcr)

(2) `li / pa thuve-l / la / so gu`
3s Neg find-3s there 3sP taste
'He did not find it to his taste.'
(i.e., 'He did not like it.')

Surface	S	P	O	R
Semantic	Ag(Expcr)		Pat	
			Exp	

Semantically each of these is a transitive experience, but the verb in the predicate takes the event form tense markers. Since no other transitive clauses map onto SPR or SPOR surface structures, these are not postulated as separate clause types.

There are a few expressions which appear to fit existing state clause types except for the use of processive tense markers. For example:

(1) `li // ka peze / thwa kilo`
3s Tpr=i weigh three kilo
'It weighs three kilos.'

This appears to be a possessive clause except for the presence of `ka`, and will thus be considered a non-conforming member of the possessive clause type.

(2) ka hete / de mil // la u kõt
Tpr=i stay two thousand there 2sP account
'There are two cruzeiros in your account.'

This appears to be an existential clause except for the presence of ka, and will thus be considered a non-conforming member of the existential clause type.

2.5. Ditransitive Clauses.

The term ditransitive clause is here used to refer to clauses in which the surface object slot is normally filled by another clause (or group of clauses). Though it would be possible from some points of view to consider ditransitives as a further type of complex sentence, since they are composed of two or more clauses, nevertheless they are here being treated as a special clause type, since the second clause always fills a specific role slot in the main clause. There are three ditransitive clause types: Quotative, Cognitive-Desiderative, and Causative.

2.5.1. Quotative S P R O

S	Nph
Speaker (agent)	

P	Vph (H=V)
Speech (event)	

R	RAph/Nph
Addressee (goal)	

O	Clause
Quotn (range)	

There are four sub-types of quotative clause: direct, indirect statement, indirect command and indirect question. In the first three the referent slot is filled by a relator-axis phrase, and in the fourth by a noun phrase.

2.5.1.1. Direct.

The object clause may be of any type and any mode.

mo papa / dji / kote mo,/ nu kamahad laba ofõ
1sP father say to 1s 1p friend there yonder
'My father said to me, "Our friends are over there!" '

Bõdje / dji / kote Pyé, / utxi sa ki mo te bay pu u?
God say to Peter where Dem Rel 1s Tp give to 2s
'God said to Peter, "Where is that which I gave you?" '

mo mãmã / dji kõ sa / pu li,/ ale, hele tximun
1sP mother say like this to 3s go call child
'My mother said to him, "Go and call the child!" '

2.5.1.2. Indirect Statement.

The object clause may be of any type in the declarative mode.

Pyé / dji / pu ye / li pa ka vãde-l
Peter say to 3p 3s Neg Tpr=i sell-it
'Peter said to them (that) he was not selling it.'

li / dji / wi, li hepãtxi
3s say yes 3s sorry
'He said (to him) that he was sorry.'

mo / ke dji / bay mo muxe / u le koze ke-l
1s Tf say to 1sP husband 2s want talk with-3s
'I will tell my husband that you want to talk with him.'

The object clause of the indirect statement may, rarely, be introduced by marker ki.

li / dji / ki li ka vin
3s say that 3s Tpr=i come
'He said that he would come.'

2.5.1.3. Indirect Command.

The object clause is a subordinate purpose clause.

ye / dji / pu mo / pu mo pa ke tóne
3p say to 1s for 1s Neg Tf return
'They said to me that I should not return.' (i.e., 'They told me not to return.')

u / dji / pu mo sabhe bakóv
2s say for 1s clear banana
'You said (to me) that I should cut down the bananas.' (i.e., 'You told (me) to clear the bananas.')

mo / ka dji / pu li hete ke tximun
1s Tpr=i say for 3s stay with child
'I'll tell (her) that she should stay with the child.' (i.e., 'I'll tell (her) to stay with the child.')

2.5.1.4. Indirect Question.

The object clause is a subordinate conditional clause.

Pyé / dumãde/ -l / si li hepãtxi
Peter ask -3s if 3s sorry
'Peter asked him whether he was sorry.'

mo / dumãde / u / si u ke le
1s ask 2s / if 2s Tf want
'I asked you whether you would like (some bananas).'

```
ale  dumãde /  mãmã /  si  u  puve  ale
go   ask       mother   if  2s able  go
'Go and ask your mother if you may go.'
```

2.5.2. Cognitive-Desiderative S P O

S	Nph	P	Vph (H=V)	O	Clause
Expcr		Cog exp		Range	

The object clause is in the declarative or interrogative mode.

```
mo /  save /  u  ka   kólé   ke  mo
1s    know    2s Tpr=i be=angry with 1s
'I know you are angry with me.'
```

```
mo /  khé /  ye  vini
1s    believe 3p come
'I believe they came.'
```

```
u /  le /  mo  fé   u   mãmã  jón?
2s   want  1s  make 2sP mother young
'Do you want me to make your mother young again?'
```

```
li /  kõtã /  li  hamase-l
3s    glad    3s  gather-3s
'He is glad she picked him up.'
```

The object clause may, rarely, be introduced by marker ki or kumã.

```
Pyé /  save /  ki  bét  la  ka   vin  dehiyé
Peter /  know /  that beast Ind Tpr=i come behind
'Peter knew that the beast was following.'
```

```
ye /  ka   majine /  kumã  ye  ka   txue-l
3p    Tpr=i think    how   3p  Tpr=i kill-3s
'They think how they will kill him.'
```

2.5.3. Causative S P O

S	Nph	P	Vph('make')	O	Clause
Instig agent		Causative event		Range result	

```
li /  fé /  ye  fãde  bwa  boku
3s    make  3p  chop  wood  much
'He made them chop a lot of wood.'
```

```
soley /  ka   fé /  mo  lẽj   sék
sun      Tpr=i make 1sP clothes dry
'The sun is making my clothes dry.'
```

```
li /  fé /  mo  mãje  mo  pitxit  so  fwa
3s    make  1s  eat   lsP child   3sP liver
'He made me eat my child's liver.'
```

2.5.4. Alternative.

Both negative indirect statement clauses and negative cognitive clauses may take a two-clause object expressing alternatives.

```
li  pa-õkó  save  si  li  k-ale   osue  p-k-ale
3s  Neg-yet  know  if  3s  Tpr=i-go  or    Neg-Tpr=i-go
'He doesn't know yet whether he's going or whether he's not going.'
```

```
li  pa   dji  si-l  ka   fé   isi-la  osue  fé   la   wót  bó
3s  Neg  say  if-3s  Tpr=i  make  here    or    make  there  other  side
'He didn't say whether it would be held here or held over there.'
```

2.6. Mode.

Clauses may be expressed in six different modes, reflecting the relationship (or mood) between speaker and hearer as indicated in Fig. 10.

Mode	Relationship between Speaker A and Hearer B
Declarative	A tells B
Interrogative	A asks B
Imperative	A orders B
Hortatory	A exhorts B
Necessitative	A gives ultimatum to B
Advisory	A warns B

Figure 10. Modal relationship between speaker and hearer.

All clause types are found in both declarative and interrogative modes. All event clauses may occur with imperative and hortatory modes. The necessitative mode occurs most frequently with events, but may occur with some other clauses, while the advisory mode is found with most event and process clauses, as shown in Fig. 11. Each mode reflects the expectation of a different response from the hearer and carries a distinguishing intonation.

	Decl	Intrg	Impv	Horty	Necv	Advy
1 Bitransitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 Comparative	X	X				
3 Transitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
4 Possessive	X	X			X	
5 Occasional	X	X				
6 Semitransitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
7 Circumstantial	X	X			X	X
8 Descriptive	X	X			X	
9 Existential	X	X			X	
10 Intransitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
11 Receptive	X	X			X	X
12 Attributive	X	X			X	
13 Complementive	X	X				
14 Locative	X	X			X	
15 Identificational	X	X				
16 Progressive	X	X			X	X
17 Extentive	X	X			X	
18 Ambientive	X	X				
19 Temporal	X	X				
20 Durational	X	X				
21 Quotative	X	X	X	X	X	
22 Cognitive	X	X			X	
23 Causative	X	X	X	X	X	X

Figure 11. Occurrence of modes with each clause type.

2.6.1. Declarative Mode.

The declarative mode is the normal expression of a statement or fact. Clauses in declarative mode may overtly express all nuclear and peripheral slots and may take any tense.

```
ayé      ye  plãte  kan  la   so  batxi
yesterday 3p  plant  cane there 3sP field
'Yesterday they planted sugarcane in his field.'
```

```
djime   li  ke  hive  dji  laho  ke  so  fwé
tomorrow 3s Tf  arrive from upriver with 3sP brother
'Tomorrow he will arrive from upriver with his brother.'
```

```
so  mãmã  malad tu  le  ju
3sP mother ill   all Dem day
'His mother is ill every day.'
```

Doubt or certainty as to the veracity of the statement may be indicated by the speaker by the addition of words such as 'perhaps', 'apparently', 'maybe'.

pitét mo ke puve ale
perhaps 1s Tf able go
'Perhaps I will be able to go.'

ye hive ayé wakhé
3p arrive yesterday apparently
'They arrived yesterday, apparently.'

djivét li gã thwa ane
maybe 3s have three year
'Maybe (= probably) he is three years old.'

Since these dubitive and assertive forms do not carry distinguishing intonation nor expect a response different to that of a factual declaration, they have not been postulated as contrastive modes.

2.6.2. Interrogative Mode

2.6.2.1. Verificational.

The interrogative mode which merely questions the veracity of a statement or fact (i.e., which requires a 'yes' or 'no' type answer) takes the same form as the declarative mode and is distinguishable from it only by intonation. The most general intonation pattern of the declarative mode shows a higher pitch on the penultimate syllable of the clause, falling again on the ultimate syllable; whereas the pitch of the verificational mode generally begins to rise on the verb phrase and remains high or continues to rise until the end of the utterance.

ayé ye plãte kan la so batxi?
yesterday 3p plant cane there 3sP field
'Yesterday they planted sugarcane in his field?' (or: 'Did they plant sugarcane in his field yesterday?')

so mãmã malad tu le ju?
3sP mother ill all Dem day
'His mother is ill every day?' (or: 'Is his mother ill every day?')

Rarely, this verificational type question may take a following tag question (expressing the speaker's conviction that it is so).

u ke fé bét mãje, nõ?
2s Tf make beast food no
'You will make food for the beasts, won't you?' (implies : 'I believe you will.')

2.6.2.2. Content Questions.

Interrogatives which question the content of a clause role or the cause or purpose of an action are formed by substituting a question word or phrase for that role or purpose, fronting it to the initial position in the clause. In the identificational clause only, the question phrase is not initial, but follows the equator a.

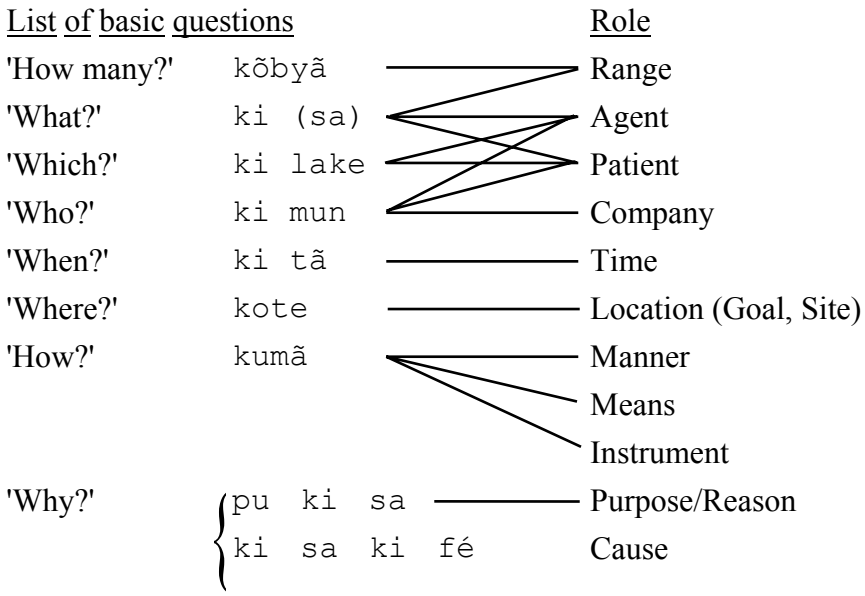


Figure 12. Relationship between question words and clause roles.

Other questions may be formed from these by the addition of a preposed relator (ex: dji ki mun, 'from whom?') or of a postposed noun (ex: ki kuló, 'what colour?').

(1) kõbyã 'how many?'

kõbyã u gã?
how=many 2s have
'How many do you have?'

kõbyã ane li gã?
how=many year 3s have
'How old is he?'

kõbyã pam li long?
how=many palm 3s long
'How long is it?'

pu kõbyã 'for how much?'

pu kõbyã u vãde wun bóm?
for how=much 2s sell one tin
'For how much do you sell one tin?'
(i.e., 'What is your selling price for a tin?')

(2) ki (sa) 'what?'

a ki sa, sa?
Eq what that that
'What is that?'

ki sa li dji?
what that 3s say
'What did he say?'

ki bwa, sa?
what wood this
'What (type of) wood is this?'

ki bét 'what?'

ki bét sa?
what thing this
'What is this?'

ki kuló 'what colour?'

ki kuló sa txizozo?
what colour that songbird
'What colour is that bird?'

(3) ki lake / ki lakél 'which?'

a ki lake liv pi joli?
Eq what which book more pretty
'Which book is nicest?'

a ki lakél ki txue-l?
Eq what which that kill-3s
'Which (of them) killed it?'

(4) ki mun / kin 'who?'

ki mun hive ayé?
what person arrive yesterday
'Who arrived yesterday?'

kin ki save?
who that knows
'Who knows?'

pu ki mun 'for whom?'

a pu ki mun sa bét la u gã?
Eq for what person that thing Ind 2s have
'For whom is that thing you have?' or: 'Who is that thing for that you have?'

dji ki mun 'from whom?/whose?'

dji ki mun sa?
from what person this
'Whose is this?'

dji ki mun u axte-l?
from what person 2s buy-3s
'From whom did you buy it?'

ke ki mun 'with whom?'

ke ki mun u ke ale?
with what person 2s Tf go
'Who are you going with?'

(5) ki tã 'when?'

ki tã u ke nathe-l?
what time 2s Tf plait-3s
'When will you plait it?'

ki tã zót ke ale?
what time 2p Tf go
'When are you (pl) going?'

ki ló 'when?'

ki ló ye ke sótxi dji lekól?
what hour 3p Tf leave from school
'When will they come out of school?'

dji ki tã 'from when?'

dji ki tã li malad?
from what time 3s ill
'From when is he ill?'
(i.e., 'When did he become ill?')

kõbyã tã 'how long?'

kõbyã tã li te hete la?
how=much time 3s Tp stay there
'How long has it been there?'

(6) kote 'where?'

kote u k-ale?
where 2s Tpr=i-go
'Where are you going?'

kote u ka hete?
where 2s Tpr=i live
'Where do you live?'

dji kote 'from where?'

dji kote li hive?
from where 3s arrive
'Where did he come from?'

utxi 'where?'

utxi u sulye?
where 2sP shoe
'Where are your shoes?'

(7) kumã 'how?'

kumã u le mãje?
how 2s want eat
'How do you want to eat (it)?'

kumã li ke fé-l?
how 3s Tf make-3s
'How will he do it?'

kumã li kupe-l?
how 3s cut-3s
'How did he cut it?'

(8) pu ki sa 'why?'

pu ki sa li ale?
for what that 3s go
'Why did he go?' (Purpose)

pu ki sa u pa le?
for what that 2s Neg want
'Why do you not want (it)?' (Reason)

ki sa ki fé 'why?'

a ki sa ki fé li khie?
Eq what that what make 3s cry
'What made him cry?'/'Why did he cry?' (Cause)

2.6.3. Imperative Mode.

The imperative mode expresses a command and is characterized by the deletion of both subject (except as a vocative) and tense particle. It occurs only with event clauses.

kupe-l!
cut-3s
'(You), cut it!'

bay mo!
give 1s
'(You), give (it) to me!'

vini, tximun!
come child
'Child, come here!'

gade kumã la xiko-bwa blese-l!
see how there stump injure-3s
'See how the stump injured him there!'

Occasionally the plural pronoun subject is retained:

zot ale!
2p go
'Go, all of you!'

2.6.4. Hortatory Mode.

The hortatory mode expresses an exhortation involving both hearer and speaker. It is characterized by the replacement of the subject of an event clause by the hortative particle anu 'let's/let's go'.

anu mãje!	anu laba!	anu dhómi!	anu!
Hort eat	Hort over=there	Hort sleep	Hort
'Let's eat!'	'Let's go over there!'	'Let's go to bed!'	'Let's go!'

2.6.5. Necessitative Mode.

The necessitative mode expresses insistence upon, or the need for certain action. It is characterized by the presence of a preposed necessitative particle fodha 'it is necessary that' and the absence of overt tense markers.

fodha ghamun la ki kónét	fodha u bwé, mãmã
Nec old=person there that know	Nec 2s drink mother
'There has to be an older person there who knows (how to do it).'	'You have to drink it, Mother.'

fodha ye txue Pyé
Nec 3p kill Peter
'They had to kill Peter.' (i.e., 'It was needful that they should kill Peter.')

2.6.6. Advisory Mode.

The advisory mode expresses a warning. It is formed by the presence of a preposed advisory particle veye 'watch out (lest)' and the absence of a tense marker.

veye u tõbe!	veye mux pitxe u!	veye lapli vin!
Avsy 2s fall	Avsy wasp sting 2s	Avsy rain come
'Watch out, or you will fall!'	'Careful lest the wasp sting you!'	'Look out, the rain is coming!'

2.7. Periphery.

The nuclear clause may take an optional preposed time word or phrase, and/or an optional postposed word or phrase filling an adjunct slot in the surface structure, manifesting one of the following roles: means, company, manner, goal, site, source.

Clauses with two postposed peripheral elements are extremely rare. Event clauses with preposed adjunct as time may also occur with postposed adjunct as goal, site, source, instrument or company. It is rare, however, for clauses to take more than one peripheral element. The most common peripheral elements are goal, site, source and time.

	Goal/ Site/ Source	Inst	Means	Company	Manner	Time
1 Bitransitive	X			X	X	X
2 Comparative						
3 Transitive	X	X		X	X	X
4 Possessive						
5 Occasional						
6 Semitransitive	X		X	X	X	X
7 Circumstantial						
8 Descriptive						
9 Existential				X		X
10 Intransitive	X	X		X	X	X
11 Receptive						
12 Attributive	X					X
13 Complementive						
14 Locative						
15 Identificational	X					
16 Progressive						
17 Extentive						
18 Anbientive						
19 Temporal						
20 Durational						
21 Quotative						X
22 Cognitive						
23 Causative						X

Figure 13. The occurrence of peripheral roles with each clause type.

The following are examples of clauses with peripheral elements:

Goal

li lese-l pu óm la
3s leave-3s for man Ind
'He left it for that man.'

mo ke bay ye lahextã pu li
1s Tf give 3p remainder for 3s
'I will give them the rest for him.'

Source

mo ka mãje mi dji batxi nóv
1s Tpr=i eat corn from field new
'I'm eating corn from (my) new field.'

ye tut ale dji laho pu ãba
3p all go from up to down
'They all went downriver from upriver.'

Site

sa khapo la gã lét la so do
that frog Ind have letter there 3sP back
'That (type of) frog has a letter on its back.'

ye mahe-l la higól kaz
3p tie-3s there gutter house
'They tied him up in the gutter by the house.'

Instrument

li ka bahe kaz ke hipã
3s Tpr=i enclose house with slat
'He is enclosing (his) house with slats.'

mo fwé hu-pitxe-l õkó ke apõ la
1sP brother re-sting-3s again with harpoon Ind
'My brother poked it again with his harpoon.'

The role of instrument is more often expressed in an independent juxtaposed clause.

li phã so sab, li kupe-l
3s took 3sP machete 3s cut-3s
'He took his machete (and) he cut it.' (i.e., with his machete)

Means

ye	ka	maxe	ke	batõ
3p	Tpr=i	walk	with	stick

'They were walking with (by means of) sticks.'

ye	ale	pa	bato
3p	go	by	boat

'They went by boat.'

Company

u	ke	voye-l	djivã	ke	mo	fam
2s	Tf	send=3s	in=front	with	1sp	wife

'You will send him ahead with my wife.'

ye	hive	ke	so	mãmã
3p	arrive	with	3sP	mother

'They arrived with her mother.'

Manner

bakóv	tut	sabhe	plat
banana	all	clear	flat

'All the bananas were cut down flat.'

li	kuhi	vitmã
3s	run	fast

'He ran quickly.'

Time

djime	mo	ka	hãde	u	djisã
tomorrow	1s	Tpr=i	return	2sP	blood

'Tomorrow I will avenge your blood.'

ju	bomãtẽ	ye	desan
day	early=morning	3p	descend

'At dawn they got down.'

A clause with two post nuclear peripheral elements is:

S		P		Adj(Manner)		Adj(Means)
li	/	ka	dhómi /	xwit	/	ke lapli
3s		Tpr=i	sleep	sweet		with rain

'He sleeps well in the rain.'

2.8. Clause Status within the sentence.

Within the sentence a clause may be independent, subordinate, dependent or relative.

2.8.1. Independent.

A clause is said to be independent when it may occur in isolation as the nucleus of a contrastive clause type or as the head of a complex sentence.

li	ke	vin
3s	Tf	come

'He will come.'

si	mo	ka	dumãde-l,	li	ke	vin
if	1s	Tpr=i	ask-3s	3s	Tf	come

'If I ask him, he will come.'

li	ke	vin	pu	phã	so	bagaj
3s	Tf	come	to	take	3sP	thing

'He will come to get his things.'

2.8.2. Subordinate.

A clause is said to be subordinate when it carries an obligatory subordinating marker and is thus related by it to another clause which is the head of a complex sentence, or to the predicate of a ditransitive clause.

si	li	bõ	mo	ke	axte-l
if	3s	good	1s	Tf	buy-3s

'If it is good, I will buy it.'

li	ka	dumãde	si	u	le	axte-l
3s	Tpr=i	ask	if	1s	want	buy-3s

'He is asking whether you want to buy it.'

The subordinating marker denotes the role of the subordinate clause in the sentence.

si	- conditional	kã		
pu	- purpose	ló		
kumã		xak		
kõ	- comparative	avã		- temporal
kõsi		dji pi tã		
		aphe		
		juk tã		

Examples of subordinate clauses of all these types are found in section 1.2.2.2.

2.8.3. Dependent.

A clause is said to be dependent if it may not occur in isolation, being dependent on the presence (not necessarily overt) of another clause. It may be the head of a complex sentence. Dependent clauses occur as follows:

2.8.3.1. As the head of hypothetical conditional sentences.

si-l	te	hive,	mo	teke	koze	ke-l
if-3s	Tp	arrive	1s	Tc	talk	with-3s

'If he had come, I would have talked with him.'

si	mo	te	gã	boku	lajõ,	mo	teke	axte	boku	bagaj
if	1s	Tp	have	much	money	1s	Tc	buy	much	thing

'If I had had lots of money, I would have bought many things.'

2.8.3.2. As head of a non-feasible purpose sentence.

lajõ	pa	bay	pu	axte	tut	bagaj
money	Neg	give	to	buy	all	thing

'There was not enough money to buy everything.'

fey	ka	bay	pu	fini	kaz
leaf	Tpr=i	give	for	finish	house

'There is enough leafing to finish the house.'

2.8.3.3. As fillers of time adjunct slot.

hete bõ tã ye tut sótxi
stay good time 3p all leave
'After awhile they all left.'

2.8.4. Relative.

A clause is said to be relative when it occurs with an obligatory relator marker within a noun or locative phrase, as an expansion of the phrase head.

Relator ki:

mo wé / sa fam ki te vini pase fét isi la
1s see that woman which Tp come pass holiday here
'I saw that woman who had come to spend the holiday here.'

u mém pa txue / as hẽ mux ki móde u
2s self Neg kill that only wasp which bite 2s
'You yourself did not kill only that wasp which bit you.'

utxi / sa ki mo te bay pu u póte pu mo?
where that which 1s Tp give for 2s carry for 1s
'Where is that thing which I gave you to carry for me.'

Relator pu:

mo pa-õkó wé / kaho pu mo ale lãdã
1s Neg-yet see car for 1s go there=in
'I had not yet seen the car which I was to go in.'

ka hete / wun pu bay pu li
Tpr=i stay one for give to 3s
'There is one over which you can give to him.'

Relator kote:

li ale / la kote ye teka bhiga
3s go there where 3p Tp=i fight
'He went where they were fighting.'

ye hive / dji kote ye fwé ka hete
3p arrive from where 3pP brother Tpr=i live
'They came from their brother's home.' (lit: from where their brother lives)

A relative clause used to expand the noun head of an identificational clause predicate is a common device for focussing attention on the noun phrase head it is related to (i.e., emphasizing that it is this noun head, and not another), rather than just conveying additional information about the noun head, as is the normal use of the relative clause elsewhere in the language.

so pitxit / a li ki fé-l
3sP child Eq 3s which do-3s
'It is his child who did it.' (lit: His child it-is he who did it.)

cf. so pitxit fé-l
3sP child do-3s
'His child did it.'

li dji /a ke Bõdje ki li teka koze
3s say Eq with God who 3s Tp=i talk
'He said it was with God that he was talking.'

cf. li dji li teka koze ke Bõdje
3s say 3s Tp=i talk with God
'He said he was talking with God.'

2.9. General Comments

2.9.1. Deletion of Clause Elements.

The deletion of nuclear clause slot fillers is common where the filler may be recovered from the context.

so fam tõbe malad, muhi
3sP wife fall ill die
'His wife became ill, (she) died.' (deleted subject

ye fé, ye fé, li fé kasab kã ye ka fé fléx
3p make 3p make 3s make pancake when 3p Tpr=i make arrow
'They made (arrows), they made (arrows), she made pancakes while they were making arrows.'
(deleted object) (i.e., 'While they kept on making arrows, she made pancakes.')

li peye
3s pay
'He paid (him the price).' (deleted goal referent and object)

si nu pa te ale, ẽbé mo pitxit teka tóne invalid
if 1p Neg Tp go then lsP offspring Tp=i turn invalid
'If we had not gone (there), then my daughter would have become an invalid.'
(deleted goal referent)

2.9.2. Order of Clause Elements.

The normal order of elements in the declarative clause, as outlined previously, is:

(Time Adj), S, P, O, R

This order may be changed for reasons of mode, subordination or focus.

2.9.2.1. Mode.

Adjunct of time follows the clause nucleus in non-declarative clause.

Impv vini gade txizozo la ató
come see songbird Ind now
'Come now and see the bird.'

Horty anu mãje ató
Hort eat now
'Let's eat now!'

Necv fodha u fé sa djime
Nec 2s do that tomorrow
'Tomorrow you have to do that.'

Intrg kote li ale ayé?
where 3s go yesterday
'Where did he go yesterday?'

Advy veye txig ka vin taló
Avsy jaguar Tpr=i come soon
'Watch out lest the jaguar comes soon.'

2.9.2.2. Subordination.

Adjunct of time follows the clause nucleus in a subordinate or relative clause.

li hive / pu koze ke mo djime
3s arrive to talk with 1s tomorrow
'He arrived to talk with me tomorrow.'

li pa puve vin / pase li malad tu le ju
3s Neg able come because 3s ill all Dem day
'He cannot come because he is ill everyday.'

mo wé sa fam / ki te vini pase fét wót ane isi-la
1s see that woman who Tp come pass holiday other year here
'I saw that woman who came last year to spend the holiday here'.

2.9.2.3. Focus.

Adjucts of time may be backed in the clause, and other adjuncts, objects and referents may be fronted when they are the focal point of the speaker's attention.

de bóm li bay mo
two tin 3s give 1s
'Two tins he gave me.'
- focus on 'two tins' (object fronted)

ye hive ayé
3p arrive yesterday
'They arrived yesterday.'
- focus on 'yesterday' (time adjunct backed)

laba bola ye ka hete
over=there yonder 3p Tpr=i stay
'They live over there.'
- focus on 'over there' (site referent fronted)

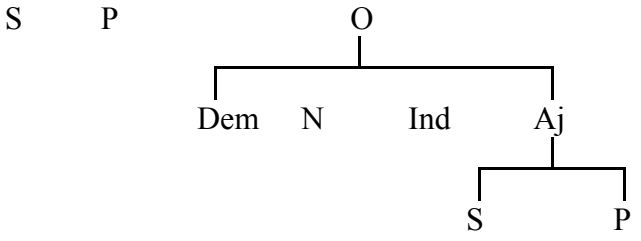
ke sa kalite mun fodha gã pasiẽs
with that quality people Nec have patience
'With that type of person (one) has to have patience.'
- focus on 'that type of person' (goal referent fronted)

NB The fronted focal element may also take the preceding equative a in an identificational clause construction for special emphasis.

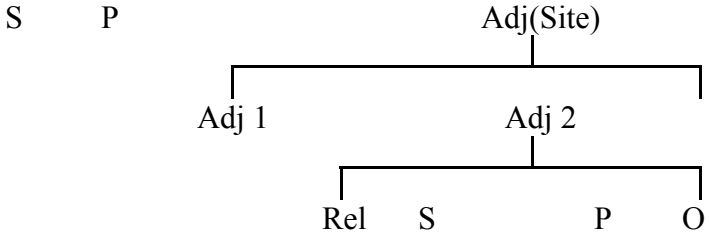
```
a   te  de  bóm  li  bay  mo
Eq  Tp  two tin  3s  give 1s
'It was two tins that he gave me.
```

2.9.3. Embedding.

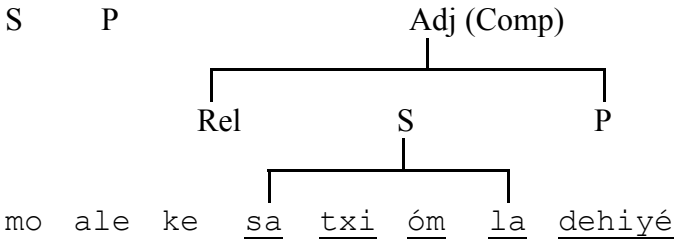
A clause may be embedded within a noun phrase or within a relator-axis phrase (where it substitutes for the noun phrase axis).




```
li  dji  sa  pahól  la,  li  pa  bõ
3s  say  that word   Ind  3s  Neg good
'He said that word, it wasn't good.' (i.e., 'He said that bad word.')
```




```
li  ale  laba      la    mayuhi    plẽ   mun
3s  go   over=there there work=party full person
'He went over there where the work-party was full of people.'
```




```
mo  ale  ke   sa   txi  óm   la   dehiyé
1s  go   with that little man  Ind  behind
'I went with the young boy following.'
```

2.9.4. Passive Voice.

There is no passive form of the predicate in Event, Experience or Process clauses. All such utterances are in the active form.

' I was bitten by a wasp' must be expressed as:

```
mux  móde  mo
wasp bite  1s
'The wasp bit me.'
```

'All the bananas were eaten' must be expressed as:

```
nu  mãje  tut  bakóv          or:      pa  hete  bakóv
lp  eat   all  banana                   Neg stay  banana
'We ate all the bananas.'               'There were no bananas left.'
```

'The lard is being melted by the fire' is expressed as:

```
djife ka   fun  ghés la
fire  Tpr=i melt fat  Ind
'The fire is melting the lard.'
```

However a few verbs may be used in a passive sense in state clauses.

```
kaz   la  pẽtxihe
house Ind paint
'The house is painted.'
```

(But one cannot say, 'The house was painted by John'; this must be expressed actively as 'John painted the house.'). Verbs which may be used in this passive state sense are considered as being verbal adjectives in such clauses.

2.9.5. Reflexive.

There is no special reflexive construction, but the reflexive is indicated by a possessed body or body part (rather than by a pronoun, as for a non-reflexive object), or by the emphatic pronoun in a RA phrase.

```
mo  bat  mo  kó
1s  hit  lsP body
'I hit myself.'
```

```
li  ka   lave  so  kó
3s  Tpr=i wash 3sP body
'He is washing himself.'
```

```
mo  kupe  mo  dwét
1s  cut   lsP finger
'I cut my finger.'
```

```
mo  axte-l  pu  mo  mém
1s  buy-3s  for 1s  Emph
'I bought it for myself.'
```

3. THE PHRASE

Phrases are the normal fillers of clause slots. Five types of phrases are distinguished:

(1) Verbal – fills Predicate slot

(2) Nominal – fills Subject/Object slots, and functions in certain Verbal phrases

(3) Adjectival – functions in Nominal phrase and in certain Verbal phrases

(4) Locative – fills Referent and Adjunct slots, and functions in certain Verbal phrases

(5) Relator-Axis – fills Referent and Adjunct slots

The general structure of each phrase type is:

Nucleus + Periphery

Characteristically, two or more simple phrases of a given type may be juxtaposed, linked only by intonation, to denote expansion, listing, emphasis or apposition.

3.1. The Verbal Phrase.

The verbal phrase consists of an obligatory nucleus and optional periphery (of pre-, in- and post- nuclear elements).

3.1.1. Nucleus.

The standard nucleus of a simple verbal phrase consists of a tense marker and the verbal head. The nucleus may be specified by the addition of an auxiliary verb.

i.e., Standard nucleus = T+H
Specified nucleus = T+Vx+H

(T = Tense marker,
H = Head,
Vx = auxiliary verb)

Eventive
H = Verb – this functions as the predicate of all Event, Experience and Process clauses (except Occasional clause type).

Descriptive
H = Ajph – this functions as the predicate of Descriptive, Attributive, Extentive and Ambientive clause types.

Locative
H = Locph – this functions as the predicate of Locative clause type.

Equative
H = Nph – this functions as the predicate of Complementive, Identificational, Occasional and Temporal clause types.

Figurative
H =FV+Nph – this functions as the predicate of Comparative, Possessive, Existential and Durational clause types.

(FV indicates one of three verbs (gã, hete, pase) or an adjective used in a special figurative sense.)

3.1.2. Tense.

There are five overt tense markers and another in which the absence of an overt marker indicates the tense.

Tense	Marker	Symbol	Example
Future complete	ke	Tf	mo ke vin 'I will come.'
Present incomplete (or near future)	ka	Tpr=i	mo ka vin 'I am coming.'
Present complete	#	(T#)	mo kõtã 'I am glad.'
Past complete	#	(T#)	mo vin 'I came.'
Past complete	te	Tp	mo te kõtã 'I was glad.'
Past incomplete	teka	Tp=i	mo teka vin 'I was coming'
Hypothetical conditional	teke	Tc	mo teke vin 'I would have come.'

Figure 14. Tense markers.

The use of each tense marker is restricted to certain clause types as indicated in figure 15.

	Fut.	Pres.	Past compl.	Past incompl.	Conditional
Events and Processes	ke	ka	#	teka	teke
Experiences and States	ke	#	te	-	teke

Figure 15. Use of tense markers within clause types

The present tense marker ka elides with the initial vowel of verbs beginning with a non-back vowel, to form a prefix k-; for example, mo ka ale becomes mo k-ale, 'I am going.'

The zero tense marker has not normally been indicated in examples in this paper.

3.1.3. Verbal Phrase Types

3.1.3.1. Eventive Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + V

mo ke ale	xẽ la ka xode	lapli tõbe tu nanwit
1s Tf go	dog Ind Tpr=i heat	rain (T#) fall all in=night
'I will go.'	'The dog is in heat.'	'It was raining all night.'

3.1.3.2. Descriptive Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + Ajph

mo	kó	xo
1s	body (T#)	hot
'I am hot.'		

u	tho	pitxi
2s (T#)	too	small
'You are too young.'		

li	te	suku
3s	Tp	dark
'It was dark.'		

3.1.3.3. Locative Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + Locph

so	fwé	te	la	osi
3sP	brother	Tp	there	also
'His brother was there too.'				

li	la	ba	ofõ
3s (T#)	there	over	yonder
'He is way over there.'			

3.1.3.4. Equative Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + Nph

txig	te	sa	mun
jaguar	Tp	Com	person
'Jaguars were people.'			

li	midji	deha
3s (T#)	midday	already
'It is already midday.'		

a	mo	liv
Eq (T#)	1sP	book
'It is my book.'		

3.1.3.5. Figurative Verbal Phrase

Nucleus = T + FV + Nph

li	gã	de	mét
3s (T#)	have	two	metre
'It is two metres.'			

te	gã	boku	kaymã	la	lag
Tp	have	much	alligator	there	lake
'There were lots of alligators in the lake.'					

	hete	wun	ane
(T#)	stay	one	year
'One year passed.' / 'One year later.'			

3.1.4. Auxiliary Verb.

The auxiliary verb, placed between the tense marker and the verbal phrase head, is used to express a certain phase of an occurrence.

li /	ka	kumase	fé, /	so	nak
3s	Tpr=i	begin	make	3sP	bow
'He is beginning to make his bow.'					

kwi	la /	pa-õkó	kumase	mi /
gourd	Ind	Neg-yet (T#)	begin	ripe
'The gourd has not begun to ripen yet.'				

sa	simén	ye /	ke	fini	bahe /	kaz
Dem	week	3p	Tf	finish	enclose	house
'They will finish putting up the walls of the house this week.'						

li /	vini	még
3s (T#)	come	thin
'She became thin.'		

Whilst the verb ale 'go' is commonly used in conjunction with other verbs in the same position as the auxiliary verb, this is considered to be a merging of two clauses, and has been dealt with in section 1.2.2.3.

Similarly, the desiderative verb le 'want' appears to be used in an auxiliary sense in examples such as:

mo le gade-l
1s want see-3s
'I want to see it.'

This, however, is a Cognitive-Desiderative clause type with deleted subject and tense marker in the embedded object clause (since the subject of this clause is the same subject as that of the main clause):

mo/le/(mo ka) gade-l
'I want that I should see it.'/'I want (me) to see it.'

There are a few idiomatic uses of verbs as auxiliary verbs.

li hete majine
3s stay think
'He thought for a while.' / 'He was thinking.'

3.1.5. Periphery.

The verbal phrase nucleus (standard or specified) may take a pre-nuclear negative, in-nuclear degree qualifier (between the tense marker and head), and a post-nuclear aspect qualifier, as shown in the following examples:

Negative

/ pa tuxe!/
Neg touch
'Don't touch!'

li/ pa te bõ
3s Neg Tp good
'It was not good.'

li/ pa-õkó hive/ isi-la
3s Neg-yet arrive here
'He has not yet arrived here.'

Degree

li/ te phóx muhi
3s Tp near die
'He had nearly died.' or, 'He was nearly dead.'

salakul/ ka hẽ póte/ xévwét
wader=bird Tpr=i only bring shrimp
'The wader only brings shrimps.'

Aspect

zohãj la/ vyat tuju/
orange Ind/ green still
'The oranges are still green (i.e., unripe).'

zót/ k-ale deha?/
2p Tpr=i-go already
'Are you going already?'

A verbal phrase normally includes only one peripheral item, though two may occur.

li/	pa	vini	õkó/	isi-la
3s	Neg	come	again	here

'He did not come here again.'

li/	te	phóx	muhi	deha/
3s	Tp	near	die	already

'He was nearly dead already.'

The post nuclear qualifier may be fronted for emphasis, and is normally backed disjointly to follow an object or referent.

li /	deha	bay	sẽk	é /	
3s	already	give	five	hour	

'Already it is five o'clock.'

li/	gã /	-l	lasu-l	tuju
3s	have	-3s	there=on-3s	still

'He still has it on him.'
(i.e., 'He still is ill.')

The in-nuclear qualifier may, rarely, be backed to a post-nuclear position.

li	fwé	ki	li /	pa	puve	phóx
3s	cold	that	3s	Neg	able	near

'He was (so) cold he almost could not (do anything).'
(i.e., 'He could hardly (do anything) as he was cold.')

3.1.6. Complex Verbal Phrase.

A complex verbal phrase with two juxtaposed verb nuclei is used to express emphasis or certainty.

li	kólé	te	kólé
3s	be=angry	Tp	be=angry

'He was really angry.'

ye	ka	jue	ke	jue
3p	Tpr=i	play	Tf	play

'They are certainly having fun.'

lese	mun	thavay	ka	thavay
leave	person	work	Tpr=i	work

'Leave people alone to get on with the work.'

It will be noted that the tenses of the two phrases are not the same. The following combinations have been observed.

1st Verbal Phrase	2nd Verbal Phrase
T#	Tp
T#	Tpr=i
Tpr=i	Tf

Occasionally the subject may occur between the two verbal phrases, in which case the two tenses are the same (T#).

muhi li muhi	axte-l li axte-l
die 3s die	buy-3s 3s buy-3s
'He died indeed.'	'He certainly bought it.'

3.2. The Nominal Phrase.

There are three basic nominal phrase types, Minor, Personal, and Simple, as described below. Each may function as the subject or object of a predicate, as the head of a relator-axis phrase, and as head of nominal and figurative verbal phrases.

3.2.1. Minor Nominal Phrase.

The nucleus is a Personal, Possessive, or Demonstrative Pronoun.

mo / ka gade mun la
1s Tpr=i look=at person Ind
'I am looking at those people.' (Subj/Pers pronoun)

mux teka pitxe / ye
wasp Tp=i sting 3p
'The wasps were stinging them.' (Obj/Pers pronoun)

xẽ pa te le ale / ke li
dog Neg Tp want go / with 3s
'The dog did not want to go with him.' (RAph/Pers pronoun)

a / sa ki mo le
Eq Dem which 1s want
'That is what I want.' (Vph/Dem pronoun)

a / mo-pa
Eq 1sPP
'It is mine.' (Vph/Poss pronoun)

(For a complete listing of pronouns, see section 4.1.2.1.)

3.2.1.1. Periphery.

The Minor Nominal Phrase nucleus may take a post-nuclear emphatic qualifier mém 'indeed'/'self'.

a / li mém / ki fé-l
Eq 3s Emph which make-3s
'It is he himself who made it.' (i.e., 'He made it himself.')

The plural person pronouns may take a postposed numerical qualifier.

nu	tut /	ale
1p	all	go
'We all went.'		

ye	de /	hive
3p	two	arrive
'The two of them arrived.'		

The nuclear pronoun does not take more than one peripheral qualifier.

3.2.2. Personal Nominal Phrase.

The nucleus is a personal name.

Pyé	ãbete	ke	so	mãmã
Peter	tired=of	with	3sP	mother
'Peter was tired of his mother.'				

mo	k-ale	kote	Tõ
1s	Tpr=i-go	to	Wasp
'I'm going to Wasp's house.'			

3.2.2.1. Periphery.

The Personal Nph nucleus may take a preposed titular qualifier.

tan	Eliét
aunt	Elliette
'Aunt Elliette'	

muxe	Koku
mister	Coconut
'Mr. Coconut'	

ghamun	Jój
old=man	George
'Old Mr. George.'	

(For full classification of titles and kin terms see Fig. 18, section 4.1.2.1.)

3.2.3. Simple Nominal Phrase.

The standard nucleus is a noun: N. The specified nucleus is a noun head followed by an auxiliary qualifying noun, or a verb (used participially); i.e., H + Q (Q = N or V).

(1) Standard nucleus:

kaymã	ka	ghõde
alligator	Tpr=i	roar
'The alligator is roaring.'		

mo	ka	wé	txizozo	la
1s	Tpr=i	see	little=bird	there
'I see a songbird there.'				

mo	wé-l	la	su	pye-bwa
1s	see-3s	there	on	tree
'I saw it on the tree.'				

(2) Specified nucleus:

pedas	lapót	H + Q (Q = N)
piece	door	
'a piece of the door'		

thip	mutõ	(Q = N)
innards	sheep	
'the sheep's innards'		

nõ jue (Q = V)
name play
'nick-name'

The qualifier of the specified nucleus indicates the species or substance of the noun head.

3.2.3.1. Periphery.

The Simple Nph may take both pre-nuclear and post-nuclear periphery.

The pre-nuclear peripheral elements are:

(1)	qualifier of age or size	q_1
(2)	qualifier of appearance	q_2
(3)	quantifier or specifier	q_3
(4)	demonstrative or possessive adjective	q_4

These precede the nucleus in the order:

$\pm q_4 \pm q_3 \pm q_2 \pm q_1 +H$.

Not more than two qualifiers occur together, however.

mo txi só — q_4q_1H
lsp little sister
'my little sister'

sa joli kaz — q_4q_2H
Dem pretty house
'that nice house'

joli txi kaz — q_2q_1H
pretty little house
'nice little house'

de jun fam — q_3q_1H
two young woman
'two young girls'

nót kalite héméd — q_3HQ
other type medicine
'another kind of medicine'

The post-nuclear peripheral elements are:

(1)	qualifier of colour, relative time, newness, length, etc.	q^1
(2)	Indicator	q^2
(3)	RAph of possession, or generics	q^3

These succeed the nucleus in the order: $H \pm q^1 \pm q^2 \pm q^3$ Usually only one qualifier is postposed, though two may occur.

ane	pase	Hq[1]
year	pass	
'last year'		

xemiz	blã	la	Hq[1]q[2]
shirt	white	Ind	
'that white shirt'			

hibã	dji	sẽt	Antonyo	Hq[3]
ribbon	of	saint	Anthony	
'a ribbon (from the statue) of St. Anthony'				

A Simple nominal phrase may take both preposed and postposed periphery.

mo	jip	ble	q$_4$hq[1]
1sP	skirt	blue	
'my blue skirt'			

However, expansion of the head with more than two peripheral elements is usually formed by the juxtaposition of separate nominal phrases or clauses, rather than by the multiplication of qualifiers in one nominal phrase.

laba	mo	wé	letóf,	joli	letóf,	letóf	ble,	jón,	huj
over=there	1s	see	cloth,	pretty	cloth,	cloth	blue,	yellow,	red
'There I saw pretty blue, yellow, and red cloth.'									

ye	fé	gho	djife,	ye	fé	ye	djife,	un	gho	djife	ye	fé
3p	make	big	fire	3p	make	3pP	fire,	a	big	fire	3p	make
'They made their big fire.'												

3.2.4. Complex Nominal Phrase.

Nominal phrases may be linked and expanded in various ways.

3.2.4.1. Conjoined Nph: two or more nominal phrases linked by a conjunction.

sẽ	Pyé	ke	so	fwé
saint	Peter	with	3sP	brother
'St. Peter and his brother'				

ghãgoje	ke	aha	ble
heron	with	macaw	blue
'the heron and the blue macaw'			

3.2.4.2. Juxtaposed Nph: two or more nominal phrases linked by intonation and timing, to express:

(1) listing:

zohãj,	sithõ,	bakóv
orange	lemon	banana
'oranges, lemons, and bananas'		

(2) expansion:

un	pye-bwa,	un	gho	pye-bwa,
a	tree	a	big	tree
'a big tree'				

(3) emphasis:

patxi djisã, djisã
much blood blood
'lots and lots of blood'

(4) reprise:

so fwé la, li (kuhi)
3sP brother Ind 3s (run)
'His brother, he (ran).'

(5) apposition:

Mahi, mo só, mo pahén so pitxit
Mary 1sP sister 1sP godfather 3sP offspring
'my sister Mary, my godfather's daughter'

3.2.4.3. **Expanded Nph:** a nominal phrase expanded by a postposed relative clause.

kaho/ pu mo ale lãdã
car for 1s go in
'the car which I was to go in'

sa/ ki pa bõ
Dem which Neg good
'that which is no good'

3.2.5. Elliptic Nominal Phrase.

The deletion of the noun head of a nominal phrase may occur, leaving a qualifier as apparent head of the phrase and filler of the subject/object slot. This only occurs where the noun head may be recovered from the context.

mo gã tut
1s have all
'I have all (the books).'

li bay mo de huj
3s give 1s two red
'He gave me two ripe (bananas).'

3.3. The Adjectival Phrase

3.3.1. Nucleus.

The nuclear adjective is a qualifier of a nominal phrase or the head of a verbal phrase, expressing the colour or attribute of a noun.

mo joli kaz
1s pretty house
'my nice house'

li ble
3s blue
'It is blue.'

3.3.2. Periphery.

The nucleus may be qualified by either a pre-nuclear quantifier (q) or a post-nuclear intensifier (i).

tho pezã
too heavy
'too heavy'

mayẽ blã q + H
medium white
'more or less white'

fahux mém	bõ boku H + i
wild Emph	good much
'really wild'	'very good'

An adjective does not take both pre- and post-nuclear qualifiers.

When the adjective is itself a preposed qualifier in a nominal phrase, it does not take the postposed intensifier. This modification must be expressed by a separate juxtaposed adjectival phrase.

joli txi kaz, joli mém
pretty little house pretty Emph
'a really nice little house'

Similarly, a postposed adjective in a nominal phrase does not take a preposed qualifier.

mo xemiz blã, djimi blã
1sP shirt white half white
'My shirt is a kind of white.'

Occasionally, a nuclear adjective functioning as head of a verbal phrase may take two preposed qualifiers.

li te tho tho pezã
3s Tp too too heavy
'It was much too heavy.'

3.3.3. Juxtaposed Adjectival Phrase.

Two or more adjectival phrases are linked by intonation and timing for the following reasons:

(1) listing:
ble blã huj
blue white red
'blue, white and red'

(2) expansion:
wun, sél wun
one only one
'only one'

(3) uncertainty
huj jón
red yellow
'reddish-yellowish' (i.e., orange coloured')

wun de
one two
'one or two'

(4) emphasis:
pal, pal, pal
pale pale pale
'extremely pale'

Emphasis of adjectives to form a superlative is also accomplished by intonation and lengthened vowels or consonants.

3.4. The Locative Phrase

3.4.1. Nucleus and Qualifier.

The locative phrase consists of a locative word nucleus, with either preposed or postposed qualifier.

la ba.	la ho	H + q (qualifier underlined)
there far	there high	
'over there'	'upriver'	
bo isi	dhét mitã	q + H
side here	right middle	
'here'	'right in the middle'	

3.4.2. Juxtaposed Locative Phrase.

Two or more locative phrases may be juxtaposed for expansion.

la ba, bo la	bo la, ba ofõ
there far side there	side there far yonder
'over there on the other side'	'a long way over there'

3.4.3. Expanded Locative Phrase.

The locative phrase may be juxtaposed to a nominal phrase or a relator-axis phrase for expansion.

bo la, bo lahivyé — Locph + Nph
side there side river
'over there at the river's edge'

la ba, ãba pye-bwa — Locph + RAph
there far under tree
'over there under the tree'

Certain locative phrases are now used as a single-word utterance.

la-ba	'there'
bo-la	'over there'
bo-isi	'here'

3.5. The Relator-Axis Phrase

3.5.1. Nucleus.

The nucleus of the relator-axis phrase consists of a relator, and a nominal phrase axis or a locative phrase axis.

ãba tab	ke mo papa	pu de ju	dji la
under table	with 1sP father	for two day	from there
'under the table'	'with my father'	'for two days'	'from there'

Locative relator-axis phrases are often juxtaposed to an initial locative word and thus appear to have a compound relator.

la/ ãdã bwét (becomes: 1ãdã bwét)	la/ djivã lapót
there inside box	there in=front door
'inside the box'	'in front of the door'

3.5.2. Periphery.

Peripheral elements are rare in the relator-axis phrase, but the nucleus may take a preposed quantifier or a postposed aspect qualifier.

tu na nwit	dji Kayén õkó
all in night	from Cayenne again
'all through the night'	'again from Cayenne'

3.5.3. Embedded Relator-Axis Phrase.

An embedded relator-axis phrase may take the place of the nuclear nominal phrase, especially in locative source phrases.

dji ãba Buxu
from under 'Waters-meet'
' from further down river than 'Waters-meet'

3.5.4. Elliptic Relator-Axis Phrase.

An elliptic relator-axis phrase occurs when the nuclear nominal phrase is deleted. (This most commonly occurs in locative source phrases.)

dji ãba
from under
' from down river'

3.5.5. Juxtaposed Relator-Axis Phrase.

These phrases denote expansion.

```
bo-dji  aswé,  aphe  midji  deha
towards evening after midday already
'in late afternoon'
```

3.5.6. Clause Slot Role and Relator Relationship.

Relator-axis phrases function as fillers of adjunct and referent clause slots. The relationships between the semantic role and the relators of the relator-axis phrase are set out in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Relationship between relator-axis phrase relators and clause roles.

Role	Relator	Example
Goal (beneficiary)	pu 'to'	bay pu mo 'Give (it) to me!'
	bay 'to/for'	ye te kupe fey bay li 'They had cut thatch for him.'
Source (donor)	dji ' from'	mo axte-l dji mo tõtõ 'I bought it from my uncle.'
Goal (locational)	pu 'to'	li ale pu so kaz 'He went to his house.'
	a 'to'	guyav la tõbe a té 'The goiaba fell to the ground.'
	la 'to'	mo k-ale la legliz 'I'm going to the church.'
	kote 'to'	u k-ale kote u só? 'Are you going to your sister's?'
Source (locational)	dji 'from'	ye hive dji laho 'They arrived from upriver.'
Site (locational)	la 'at'	ye ka xãte la legliz 'The are singing at church.'
	kote 'at'	li ka hete kote so mãmã 'She is staying at her mother's.'
	ãdã 'in/inside'	mete-l ãdã bóm la 'Put it in the tin.'
	deho 'outside'	ale jue deho kaz 'Go and play outside the house.'
	ãba 'under'	ye hive ãba pye-bwa 'They arrived beneath a tree.'
	ãle 'above/up'	li mete-l ãle kaz 'He put it up in the house (roof).'

Role	Relator	Example
	djivã 'in front'	mo k-ale djivã 'I'm going ahead (of you).'
	dehiyé 'behind'	wun dehiyé wót 'one behind the other'
	hake 'next to/ beside'	gã buji hake so pye 'there is a candle next to its feet.'
	su 'on'	li k-asi su bã 'He is sitting on the bench.'
Goal (animate)	kote 'to'	li ale kote tan Mahi ' She went to Aunt Mary.'
	bo-dji 'towards'	li hale bo-dji papa lit. 'He pulls towards father.' (i.e., 'He takes after his father.')
	dehiyé 'after/in search of	li ale dehiyé kaymã 'He went after alligator.'
Source (animate)	dji 'from/of	a hibã dji mo txi só 'It is the ribbon of my little sister.' (i.e., 'It is my little sister's ribbon.')
Instrument	ke 'with'	li bat lapót ke mato 'He hit the door with a hammer.'
Means	ke 'with'	li ka maxe ke batõ 'He walks with (i.e., by means of) a stick.'
	pa 'by'	ye ale pa kanu 'They went by canoe.'
Company	ke 'with'	mo hive ke mo papa 'I arrived with my father.'
	sã 'without'	mo ke ale sã mo fam 'I will go without my wife.'
Manner	wakhé 'like'	li ka jue la djilo wakhé txi kana 'He plays in the water like a little duck.'
	sãble 'like'	li ég sãble sithõ 'It is sour like a lemon.'
Time (goal)	a 'to'	a pi ta 'Until later.' (i.e., 'Goodbye!')
	bodji ' towards'	bodji aswé ye hive 'Towards evening they arrived.'

Role	Relator	Example
Time (source)	dji pi 'from/ since'	dji pi wót ju li malad 'Since the other day he has been ill.'
Time (site)	avã 'before'	avã midji nu ale 'Before noon we went.'
	aphe 'after'	aphe midji nu hive 'After noon we arrived.' (i.e., 'We arrived in the afternoon.')
	dehiyé 'after'	li pa gã wót tximun dehiyé-l 'She didn't have another child after him.'
	na 'in'	li te gã lafyév na-nwit 'He had a fever in the night.'
	ãdã 'in/during'	ãdã tut sa li sótxi 'During all that he left.'
Time (duration)	pu 'for'	bwé sa héméd pu thwa ju 'Drink the medicine for three days.'

It will be seen from Figure 16 that certain relators are used in a variety of roles. For example,

dji denotes source - whether locational, animate, time or donor;

ãdã denotes locational and time site:

pu denotes goal - whether beneficiary or locational, and time duration:

etc.

3.6. The Comparative Modifier.

The comparative marker pi 'more' may be used to modify verbal, adjectival, locative and relator-axis phrases, together with adverbial and aspective words.

Vph

li	pi	kónét
he	more	know

'He is more knowledgeable.'

Ajph

mo	gã	wun	pi	bõ
1s	have	one	more	good

'I have a better one.'

Locph

mete-l	pi	bo	la
put-3s	more	over	there

'Put it further over.'

RAph

ye	mete-l	pi	ãle	pye-bwa	la
3p	put-3s	more	up	tree	Ind

'They put it higher in the tree.'

Aspect	Adverbial
fé-l pi õkó	li ka khie pi dusmã
do-3s more again	3s Tpr=i cry more quietly
'Do it once again.'	'He is crying more quietly.'

This comparative is commonly used, as above, with an unexpressed object of comparison, understood (and recoverable) from the context.

The full comparison is expressed, however, by the use of pi 'more' and pase 'than' (lit. 'pass').

li pi bõ pase sa	mo tximun pi hot pase u-pa
3s more good than Dem	1sP child more tall than 2sPP
'It is better than that.'	'My child is taller than yours.'

u pi kõtã jón pase huj?
2s more like yellow pass red
'Do you prefer yellow to red?'

The comparative may also be used in a causal-effect sense.

pi li lõ, pi li bõ	pi mi, li duhé
more 3s long more 3s good	more ripe 3s last=long
'The longer it is, the better!'	'The riper it is the longer it will keep.'

4. THE WORD.

The majority of words consist of a simple root. A few nouns and locatives consist of two compounded roots, while possessive nouns and a few verbs and adverbs consist of a root and derivational affix. These will be further specified in the appropriate following sections. Words may be divided into two general categories: content words which may stand alone with semantic meaning, and function words whose meaning is only found in relation to other words.

4.1. Content Words

4.1.1. Verbs.

Verbs occur as the head of the Eventive verbal phrase, as an auxiliary in the verbal phrase nucleus, as the qualifying element in a specified nucleus of a Simple nominal phrase, and adjectivally as a postposed qualifier of a Simple nominal phrase. They may thus be classified as follows, where the term 'basic member' denotes words which normally or only function in the position described, and 'non-basic member' denotes words whose normal function is elsewhere, but which occasionally function in the specified position.

4.1.1.1. Auxiliary

basic		non-basic		
kumase	'begin'	vini	'come' (i.e.,	'become')
fini	'finish'	hive	'arrive'	''
puve	'able'	tóne	'turn'	''

It will be noted that the three basic members may occur with any type of verbal phrase head, whereas the non-basic members are restricted to certain adjectival and nominal heads of the verbal phrase.

4.1.1.2. Figurative.

There are no basic members.

non-basic	
gã	'have'
hete	'stay'
hot	'be tall'

4.1.1.3. Nuclear.

Members of each sub-class function as head of the verbal phrase in the clause type from which the class derives its name.

Sub-class	basic members		non-basic members	
Bitransitive	bay	'give'	bule	'roast/burn'
	mete	'put'	plẽ	'fill'
	aple	'call/name'		
	etc.			
Transitive	bat	'hit'		
	mãje	'eat'		
	mele	'mix'		
	etc.			
Semitransitive	sótxi	'depart'		
	ale	'go'		
	abitwe	'be accustomed'		
	etc.			
Intransitive	dãse	'dance'		
	dhómi	'sleep'		
	hõte	'be shy'		
	etc.			

Sub-class	basic members		non-basic members	
Circumstantial	bule	'roast/burn'	mele	'tangle'
	plẽ	'fill'		
Receptive	xode	'heat'		
	xofe	'warm'		
	fwédji	'chill'		
Progressive	ghõfle	'swell'		
	ghate	'itch'		
Ditransitive				
Quotative	dji	'say'		
	dumãde	'ask'		
Cognitive-	save	'know'		
Desiderative	khé	'believe'		
	kõtã	'be glad/ like'		
	le	'want'		
Causative	(no basic member)		fé	'make'

4.1.1.4. Verb Classes.

Nuclear verbs may also fall into the following classes, for which there are no basic members.

Specifier - as the qualifier of a noun head forming the specified nucleus of a nominal phrase:

jue	'play'	(i.e., 'nick name')
batxize	'baptize'	('baptismal name')
muhi	'die'	('dead person')
etc.		

Adjectival - as a postposed qualifier to a nominal phrase nucleus:

pase	'pass'	(i.e., 'past')
mahe	'tie'	('tied')
dhómi	'sleep'	('food caught at night')
etc.		

Participial - as an adjectival head of a Descriptive clause:

mahe	'tie'	('tied')
make	'mark'	('coloured/patterned')
etc.		

Nominal - occurring both as verb and noun:

mãje	'eat/food'
thavay	'to work/the work'
pagay	'to paddle/a paddle'
bukane	'to smoke food/smoking frame'
etc.	

4.1.1.5. Compound Verbs.

Some verbs are formed from a simple root verb and the addition of a derivational prefix denoting either the reversal of an action (prefix de- 'un-') or the repetition of an action (prefix hu- 're-').

defé	dekud	dekõthe
de-fé	de-kud	de-kõthe
un-make/do	un-sew	un-tie
'undo'	'unpick stitches'	'untie'
huphã	hutóne	hutxihe
hu-phã	hu-tóne	hu-txihe
re-take	re-turn	re-take out
'take back/take hold again'	'return/comeback again'	'remove again'
etc.		

4.1.2. Nouns.

Nouns occur as the head of the nominal phrase, head of the relator-axis phrase, and head of the Equative verbal phrase, and are classified below.

4.1.2.1. Specific Noun Classes

Pronouns

	Person	Singular		Plural	
Personal	1st	mo	'I/me'	nu	'we/us'
	2nd	u	'you'	zót	'you'
	3rd	li	'he/she/it/ him/her'	ye	'they/ them'
Possessive	1st	mo-pa	'mine'	nu-pa	'ours'
	2nd	u-pa	'yours'	zót-pa	'yours'
	3rd	so-pa	'his/hers/ its'	ye-pa	'theirs'
Demonstrative		sa	'this/that'	le	'these/ those'

Figure 17. Pronouns

The 3rd singular personal pronoun li sometimes takes the form i when used as subject; and often, as an object or in a relator-axis phrase, it elides with the preceding verb or relator as a suffix -l. (For example, li kupe li may become i kupe-l 'He cut it.')

Personal Pronouns occur as head of the minor nominal phrase filling subject and object slots, and as head of the relator-axis phrase filling referent (goal/site/source) and adjunct (company) slots.

Possessive and Demonstrative Pronouns occur as head of the minor nominal phrase filling an object slot (or, rarely, a subject slot) and as head of the verbal phrase in Identificational clauses.

Proper Names occur as head of the Personal nominal phrase and as vocatives in the clause periphery. For example: Mahi 'Mary', Kana 'Duck' .

Kin Names occur as vocatives, as titular qualifiers in the Personal nominal phrase, and as head of the Simple nominal phrase, as charted:

	Name		Nph Head	Qual-ifier	Voca-ative
Blood relatives	mãmã	'mother'	x	–	x
	papa	'father'	x	–	x
	gãgã	'grandmother'	x	–	x
	ghãpapa	'grandfather'	x	–	x
	fwé	'brother'	x	–	x
	só	'sister'	x	–	x
	mãnu	'brother' (rare)	–	–	x
	mãna	'sister' (rare)	–	–	x
	kuzẽ	'cousin, male'	x	–	–
	kuzin	'cousin, female'	x	–	–
	nyés	'niece'	x	–	–
	nive	'nephew'	x	–	–
	tan	'aunt'	x	x	x
	tõtõ	'uncle'	x	x	x
	pitxit	'son/daughter'	x	–	–
	gasõ	'son' (rare)	x	–	–
	fi	'daughter' (rare)	x	–	–
	paru	'grandchild' (rare)	x	–	–
Marriage relatives	óm/muxe	'husband'	x	–	–
	fam/madam	'wife'	x	–	–
	bopé	'father-in-law'	x	–	x
	bélmé	'mother-in-law'	x	–	x
	bofwé	'brother-in-law'	x	–	x
	bélsó	'sister-in-law'	x	–	x
	bofi	'son-in-law'	x	–	–
	bélfi	'daughter-in-law'	x	–	–

	Name		Nph Head	Qual-ifier	Voca-ative
Baptismal relatives	pahén	'godfather'	x	–	x
	yeyén	'godmother'	x	–	x
	fiól	'godchild'	x	–	–
	kõpé	'father of one's godchild' or 'godfather of one's child'	x	x	x
	kõmé	'mother of one's godchild' or 'godmother of one's child'	x	x	x
Titles	muxe	'mister'	x	x	x
	madam	'madam'	x	x	x
	ghamun	'old-man/lady'	x	x	x
	defén	'deceased/the late'	x	x	x

Figure 18. Kin names.

Temporal Nouns occur as head of the nominal phrase or relator-axis phrase filling a temporal slot in clauses, and as head of the predicate in Occasional, Temporal, and Identificational clauses. For example:

djimãx 'Sunday'
jẽ 'June'
minwi 'midnight'
simén 'week'

Generic Nouns occur as head of the Simple nominal phrase filling subject and object slots in the clause, and as head of the predicate in the Complementive clause. For example:

mun 'people'
jibye 'game birds'

Quantitive Nouns occur as head of the predicate in Possessive and Comparative clauses, and as head of the specified nucleus of a Simple nominal phrase. These measurement terms are listed below:

dwét 'finger's width'
xav 'thumb to index finger span'
pam 'thumb to little finger span'
bhas 'span of outstretched arms'
twéz 'foot to upstretched arm tip span'
mét 'metre'
kilo 'kilo'
tón '1000 kilos'
lit 'litre'

ju	'day'
simén	'week'
mwa	'month'
ane	'year'

4.1.2.2. General Noun Classes.

All nouns which do not occur in the other noun classes described above are termed general nouns, and occur as the head of nominal phrases and relator-axis phrases filling subject, object, instrumental, and means slots in the clause, and as head of the Existential and Identificational clause predicates. For example:

xat	'cat'	kaz	' house'

4.1.2.3. Compound Nouns.

Some nouns are formed from the compounding of an adjective root and a noun root. For example:

tximun	hosiél
txi-mun	ho-siél
little person	high sky
'child'	'heaven'
bélsó	ghãpapa
bél-só	ghã-papa
pretty sister	big father
'sister-in-law'	'grandfather'

4.1.2.4. Articled Nouns.

A large number of nouns, now mono-morphemic, are seen etymologically, to be derived from the French noun stem and merged preposed article; but the stem is never found now in isolation. For example:

taking French article 'la':

lasup	'soup'	(Fr. soupe)
lapót	'door'	(Fr. porte)

taking French article 'les' (as an initial z):

zozo	'bird'	(Fr. oiseau)
zohe	'ear'	(Fr. oreille)

taking French partitive 'de'

djipẽ	'bread'	(Fr. pain)
djisã	'blood'	(Fr. sang)

taking French partitive article 'de la' or 'des':

djilo	'water'	(Fr. eau)
djize	'egg'	(Fr. oeuf)

4.1.2.5. Adjectival Nouns.

Some nouns are occasionally used as adjectives. For example:

butxe 'flower'

cf.	letóf	butxe	butxe
	cloth	flower	flower

'floral patterned cloth'

4.1.3. Adjectives.

Adjectives occur as qualifiers in the nominal phrase and as head of the Descriptive verbal phrase, and may be classified according to their aspect of quantity, possession, colour, etc.

4.1.3.1. Specific Adjective Classes

Possessive Adjectives occur as preposed qualifiers (q_4) of the nominal phrase. They are as follows:

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	mo	'my'	nu	'our'
2nd	u	'your'	zót	'your'
3rd	so	'his/her/its'	ye	'their'

Figure 19. Possessive adjectives.

Demonstrative Adjectives occur as preposed qualifiers (q_4) of the nominal phrase.

as	'this/that'	le	'these/those'

Numerals occur as preposed qualifiers (q_3) of the nominal phrase. For example:

de	'two'	pwómiyé	'first'
duz	'twelve'		

Quantifiers occur as preposed qualifiers (q_3) of the nominal phrase. They are:

tut	'all'	boku	'many'
yãpwẽ	'none'	hẽ/sél	'only'
xak	'each'	nempót	'any'
wót/nót	'other'	pyés	'none'
tahot	'lots'		

Qualitative Adjectives occur as preposed qualifiers (q_2) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive and Extentive clauses.

bõ	'good'	mal	'bad'
joli	'pretty/nice'		

Adjectives of size/age occur as preposed qualifiers (q_1) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive and Extentive clauses. They are:

jun/jén	'young'	txi	'small'
vye	'old'	gho	'big'
ghã	'old'		

Colours occur as postposed qualifiers (q^1) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive clauses. They are:

blã	'white'	jón	'yellow'
nwé	'black'	san	'grey'
ble	'blue'	violét	'mauve'
vyat	'green (unripe)'	huj	'red (ripe)'

4.1.3.2. General Adjectives

Adjectives generally occur as postposed qualifiers (q^2) of the nominal phrase and as head of the predicate in Attributive clauses, expressing length, texture, newness, etc. For example:

kut	'short'	dus	'sweet'

4.1.3.3. Verbal Adjectives.

Some adjectives are used as verbs. For example:

li sal so fléx	li plẽ so sódjé
3s dirty 3sP arrow	3s full 3sP pan
'He dirtied his arrow'	'She filled her pan'

4.1.4. Adverbs

Adverbs occur as qualifiers of the verbal phrase nucleus and as clause periphery filling the adjunct as manner slot. They express degree, aspect and manner.

4.1.4.1. Specific Adverb Classes

Adverbs of Degree occur as in-nuclear qualifiers of the verbal phrase.

phóx	'nearly'	tho	'too much'
hẽ	'only'		

Adverbs of Aspect occur as postnuclear qualifiers of the verbal phrase.

tuju	'still'	õkó	'again'
deha	'already'		

Adverbs of Manner occur in the adjunct of manner slot in clauses. For example:

dusmã	'quietly'	vitmã	'quickly'

4.1.4.2. Compound Adverbs.

Some adverbs of manner are formed from an adjective root and derivational suffix -mã denoting adverbalization. For example:

vitmã
vit-mã
quick-ly
'quickly'

Notice, however, that the meaning of the adjective root may change when adverbalized. For example:

dus	'sweet'	dusmã	'quietly/slowly'

4.1.5. Locatives.

Locatives occur as the head of the locative phrase and of some locational relator-axis phrases.

la	'there'	tupatu	'everywhere'
isi	'here'	kote	'there/place'
ofõ	'yonder'	phóx	'near'
mitã	'middle'	lweng	'far'

4.1.6. Ejaculations.

Ejaculations occur as preposed sentence periphery. For example:

wi	'yes'	oho	'I don't know'
nõ	'no'	djivét	'perhaps'

4.1.7. Adjectival Qualifiers.

Adjectival qualifiers occur as qualifiers of the head in an adjectival phrase, and are listed here.

Preposed		Postposed:	
tho	'too much'	boku	'much'
mayẽ	'more or less'	mém	'indeed/really'
djimi	'half/medium/mid'	hẽ/sél	'only'

4.1.8. Interrogatives.

Interrogative words occur clause initially in replacement of particular clause slots, in the interrogative mode. For example:

kote	'where?'	kumã	' how?'

(See section 2.6.2.2. for complete list and usage.)

4.2. Function Words

Tense Markers (ex: te 'completed past', ka 'incomplete present') occur as nuclear elements of the verbal phrase. (See Fig.14, section 3.1.2. for complete list of markers.)

Negatives (pa 'not', pa-õkó 'not yet') occur as preposed periphery to the verbal phrase nucleus.

Equative (a) occurs as equative marker (in the position of nuclear subject) in the Identificational clause.

Complementive (sa) occurs as the relator between the subject and the complement predicate in the Complementive clause, in the position of a preposed qualifier to the nominal phrase head of the predicate.

Indicator (la) occurs as a postposed qualifier (q^2) of a nominal phrase head, its function being akin to a definite article or demonstrative adjective.

Emphatic Marker (mém) occurs as postposed qualifier to personal pronouns in a minor nominal phrase, and as postposed qualifier to the head of an adjectival phrase.

Relators (ex. dji 'from', ke 'with') occur as nuclear relators in relator-axis phrases. (The complete list of relators is found in Fig. 16, section 3.5.6.)

Subordinate Markers (ex. si 'if', pu 'in order that') occur clause initial in the subordinate clause of a subordinate complex sentence. (See section 2.8.2. for the complete list.)

Relative Markers (ex: ki 'who/which/that', kote 'where') occur clause initial in a relative clause, relating the clause to the head of a nominal phrase or locative phrase. (See section 2.8.4.)

Conjunctions (ke 'with', maz/mẽ 'but', pase 'because'). Conjunction ke occurs as the conjoiner of two nominal phrases in the conjoined nominal phrase. Conjunctions mẽ and pase occur as the conjoiner of two clauses in the conjoined sentence.

There are also a few function words that operate only at levels higher than the sentence in the grammatical hierarchy. Since this grammar does not cover these levels, those words are also not considered here.

5. THE MORPHEME.

There are two basic morpheme types: root and derivational affix. Almost all words are monomorphemic roots. A few are bi-morphemic consisting of either two roots or a root with a derivational affix. Examples of these have been described in the appropriate sections of section 4.

A few verb roots appear to be formed from a derived stem (taken from a noun or adjective root) and a verbalizing suffix -e. For example:

fléx	'arrow'	nét	'clean'
flexe	'to shoot an arrow'	netxe	'to clean'
klu	'nail'		
klue	'to hammer in a nail'		

However, though many verb roots do end in -e, the majority do not show a derivable stem preceding it. Indeed for some, what might on this basis be postulated as a stem is clearly unrelated to the morpheme when it appears in isolation. For example:

	kute	'to listen'		sale	'to salt'
but,	kut	'short'	but,	sal	'dirty'
(cf.	zohe	'ear')	(cf.	djisél	'salt')

No stem level is therefore being postulated. The few related verb and noun or adjective roots are considered merely to be cognate roots.

6. GENERAL COMMENTS.

It will be noted that certain features are characteristic in the language at almost all levels.

6.1. Reduplication.

Reduplication is most commonly used to emphasize the degree or quantity of that which is reduplicated, usually the nuclear element. For example:

Clause:

li maxe li maxe li maxe ...
3s walk 3s walk 3s walk
'He walked a long way / for a long time.'

li fwé li fwé li fwé
3s cold 3s cold 3s cold
'He was very very cold.'

Verbal Phrase:

li ka kólé ke kólé
3s Tpr=i angry Tf angry
'He is very angry.'

Nominal Phrase:

patxi djisã djisã
lots blood blood
'lots and lots of blood / blood everywhere'

Adjectival Phrase:

li te blã blã
3s Tp white white
'It was as white as snow / very white.'

Adverb:

dusmã dusmã li hele
quietly quietly 3s call
'He called very quietly.'

Temporal:

tunanwit tunanwit li teka khie
all=in=night all=in=night 3s Tp=i cry
'He was crying all night long.'

Adjectival Qualifiers:

mo pé boku boku
I fear much much
'I am really afraid.'

6.2. Discontinuity.

Clauses and phrases may be discontinuous, interrupted by another clause or phrase. For example:

Main Clause:

ló	ye	hive,	ye	hive	aswé	ke	txi	suku,	Bõdje	gade
when	3p	arrive	3p	arrive	evening	with	little	dark	God	look

ãdã	so	malét
in	3sP	case

'They arrived in the evening, at dusk. When they arrived, God looked in his suitcase.'

Noiminal Phrase:

sẽ	Pyé	ke	so	mãmã,	li	pi	pa	te	gã	papa	õkó,
St.	Peter	with	3sP	mother	3s	more	Neg	Tp	have	father	again

ke	so	fwé
with	3sP	brother

'St. Peter and his mother and his brother; he hadn't got a father any more.'

Verbal Phrase:

li	fini	fé	khukhu	la	tut
3s	finish	make	basket	Ind	all

'He completely finished making the basket.'

Adjectival Phrase:

de	gho	hõx	blã,	gho	mém
two	big	rock	white	big	Emph

'Two very big white rocks.'

FOOTNOTES

1. The data on which this analysis is based were collected by the author during the period November 1975 to December 1976, whilst resident at Vila Espírito Santo, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), by permission of the Fundação Nacional do Índio. The present paper was written at a field workshop in linguistics held under the auspices of SIL at Belém, Pará, Brazil from February to April 1977, directed by Carl Harrison. I wish to thank Eunice Burgess and Joan Richards for their valuable advice at that time. My thanks go also to Eunice Burgess and George Huttar for help with subsequent revisions.

2. The orthography used throughout the paper is based on the phonemic analysis by the present author of which a brief statement is included in this volume.

The symbols used here which differ from those in the phonemic statement are the following:

j	represents	/ž/	dj	represents	/ǰ/	é	represents	/ɛ/
x	represents	/š/	tx	represents	/č/	ó	represents	/ɔ/

w and y represent semivowels, interpreted as consonants.

' represents glottal /ʔ/ which occurs only in interjections, ideophones, etc., and is not considered to be a phoneme.

Stress is not predictable, but has not been symbolized in the orthography of this paper.

3. A derived clause must have the same surface structure and same predicate role as the basic clause type. The other roles of the derived clause are generally the same as the basic, (though one may be different), but the role-surface mapping may differ from that of the basic type, or the predicate slot filler may differ in form from that in the basic type. Most of the derived clauses are process clauses, being derived from state clauses by the use of an auxiliary verb (cf. sections 2.2.11 and 2.2.16). Sometimes a state clause is derived from an event/experience clause by the use of a verbal adjective and the deletion of the agent (cf. section 2.2.8).

4. The equative a is also used in discourse to focus attention upon a given clause or phrase.

a	pu	leve	mo	kaz	mo	ka	hive
Eq	for	arise	1sP	house	1s	Tpr=i	arrive

'It is for building my house that I am coming.'
(i.e., 'I have come specially to build my house.')

ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjunct
Ag	Agent
Aj	Adjective
Ajph	Adjectival phrase
Ambv	Ambientive
Att	Attributive
Advy	Advisory
Avsy	Advisory particle
Bitr	Bitransitive
Cog	Cognitive
Com	Complement marker
Cpl	Complementive
Decl	Declarative
Dem	Demonstrative
Der	Derived
Emph	Emphatic marker
Eq	Equative
Ev	Event
Existl	Existential
Exp	Experience
Expcr	Experiencer
FV	Figurative Verb
H	Head
Hort	Hortative particle
Horty	Hortatory
i	Intensifier
Idf	Identificational
Impv	Imperative
Ind	Indicator
Inst	Instrument
Instig	Instigative
Intr	Intransitive
Intrg	Interrogative
Loc	Locative
Locph	Locative phrase
N	Noun
Nec	Necessitative particle
Necv	Necessitative
Neg	Negative
Nph	Nominal Phrase
O	Object
P	Predicate
1s, 2p	Personal Pronoun (1st person singular -2nd person plural; etc.)
3sP	Possessive Adjective (3rd person singular; etc.)
1pPP	Possessive Pronoun (1st person plural; etc.)
Pat	Patient
Pers	Personal
ph	Phrase
Poss	Possessive
Pr	Progressive
Proc	Process
Q,q	Qualifier
Quantv	Quantitative
Quotn	Quotation
R	Referent
RA	Relator-Axis
Raph	Relator Axis phrase
S	Subject
Sc	Scope
Semtr	Semitransitive
St	State
T	Tense marker
Tc	Conditional marker
Temp	Temporal
Tf	Future tense
Tp	Past tense
Tp=i	Past incomplete tense
Tpr=i	Present incomplete tense
Tran	Transitive
V	Verb
Vph	Verbal phrase
Vx	Auxiliary verb

#	Morpheme with no semantic meaning
Hyphen ' -'	is used to indicate elision of morphemes with subsequent loss of a vowel, or the compounding of two words into one other word.

APPENDIX A

BRIEF PHONEMIC STATEMENT OF KARIPUNA CREOLE

The phonemes of Karipuna consist of 22 consonants, 7 oral vowels and 3 nasal vowels, as seen in the following charts.

Consonants:

		Labial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal
Plosives	voiceless	p	t	č	k
	voiced	b	d	ǰ	g
Fricatives	voiceless	f	s	š	h
	voiced	v	z	ž	
Liquids		w	l	r	y
Nasals		m	n		ŋ

Vowels:

		Front	Central	Back
Oral	High	i		u
	Mid	e		o
	Low	ɛ	a	ɔ
Nasal		ɛ̃	ã	ɔ̃

DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES

Plosives occur both voiceless and voiced at four points of articulation: labial (p, b), apical (t, d), laminal (č, ǰ), and dorsal (k, g).

/p/ [p] voiceless bilabial stop /pã/ 'peacock', /pat/ 'paw'

/b/ [b] voiced bilabial stop /bã/ bench', /bat/ 'to hit'

p and b may precede all vowels, liquids and h.
They occur syllable and word initial and final.

/t/ [t] voiceless dental stop /tã/ 'time', /kut/ 'short'

/d/ [d] voiced dental stop /dã/ 'tooth', /kud/ 'to sew'

t and d may precede liquids, h, and all vowels except i.
They occur syllable and word initial and final.

/k/ [k] voiceless velar stop /kã/ 'when', /kute/ 'to listen'

/g/ [g] voiced velar stop /gã/ 'to have', /gute/ 'to taste'

k and g may precede all vowels, h, and all liquids except y.
They occur syllable and word initial and final.

/č/ [tš] voiceless palatal affricate /bači/ 'field', /čɔ/ 'heart'

/ǰ/ [dž] voiced palatal affricate /maǰi/ 'Tuesday' /ǰɔl/ 'animal's muzzle'

č and ǰ usually occur preceding i, but may also precede w and oral vowels,
except a and o. They occur syllable and word initial.

Fricatives occur voiceless at four points of articulation and voiced at three: labial (f, v), apical (s, z), laminal (š, ž), and dorsal (h). All fricatives occur syllable and word initial; all except h occur syllable and word final also.

/f/ [f] voiceless labiodental fricative /fã/ 'tame', /sufhi/ 'to suffer'

/v/ [v] voiced labiodental fricative /vã/ 'wind', /kuvhi/ 'to cover'

f and v may precede all vowels, h, and liquids except r.

/s/ [s] voiceless alveolar fricative /sɛl/ 'only', /pase/ 'because'

/z/ [z] voiced alveolar fricative /zɛl/ 'wing', /poze/ 'to come to rest'

s and z may precede all vowels; s may also precede semivowels, t and k.

/š/ [š] voiceless palatal fricative /šis/ 'kerosene', /gɔš/ 'left (hand)'

/ž/ [ž] voiced palatal fricative /žis/ 'correct', /gɔž/ 'throat'

š and ž may precede all vowels; š may also, rarely, precede w and t.

/h/ [h] voiceless glottal fricative /pahe/ [pahe] 'ready'
/ghɛn/ [ghɛn] 'seed'
/phã/ [phã] 'to fetch'

May precede all vowels syllable and word initial; follows t, d, k and g before all vowels; and follows p, b, f and v before central vowels

[x̥] voiceless velar fricative /phi/ [px̥i] 'price'

Follows p and b before non-central vowels.

[w̥] voiceless bilabial frictionless continuant /fhi/ [fw̥i] 'fruit'

Follows f and v before front vowels.

Liquids occur voiced at four points of articulation: labial (semivowel w), apical (lateral l), laminal (vibrante r), and dorsal (semivowel y).

/w/ [w] voiced rounded bilabial semivowel /wun/ 'one', /tawahu/ 'turtle'
/šwɛt/ 'owl', /mamãgaw/ 'bumble bee'

Occurs syllable and word initially before all vowels. It may be preceded by all plosives, voiceless fricatives (except h), and by m and n; and occurs very rarely syllable final after a.

/l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral /lule/ 'to hem', /fil/ 'cotton thread',
/plim/ 'feather'

Occurs syllable and word initial and final. It may precede all vowels, and may follow labial plosives and fricatives, and dorsal plosives.

/r/ [r] flapped voiced palato-alveolar vibrant /gwarib/ 'guariba monkey'
/krav/ 'clove'

Occurs syllable initially intervocalically (not word initially) or preceded by labial and dorsal plosives and t.

/y/ [y] voiced spread palatal semivowel /pey/ 'homeland', /peye/ 'to pay',
/pye/ 'foot'

Occurs syllable and word initial and final. It precedes all vowels and may be preceded by labial and laminal plosives, labial fricatives, and by s and n

.

Nasals occur voiced at three points of articulation: labial (m), apical (n), and, rarely and in very limited distribution, dorsal (ŋ).

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal /mɛt/ 'owner', /mwa/ 'month'

Occurs syllable and word initial and final; may precede all vowels and semivowels.

/n/ [n] voiced dental nasal /nɛt/ 'clean', /nwɛ/ 'black'

Occurs syllable and word initial and final; may precede all vowels and semivowels.

/ŋ/ [ŋ] voiced velar nasal /maŋ/ 'mango', /porɔŋ/ 'fishing lamp'
Only occurs word final following low central and back vowels.

Vowels

All vowels occur voiced with egressive lung air. It is rare for any vowel other than a or ã to occur word initial.

Oral – High

/i/ [i] close front spread vowel /fizi/ [fizi] 'shotgun', /legliz/ [legliz] 'church'
Occurs in open syllables and in syllables closed by fricatives.

[ɪ] lowered and retracted close front spread vowel /lit/ [lɪt] 'bed'
Occurs in closed syllables, not closed by fricatives.

/u/ [u] close back rounded vowel /mu/ [mu] 'soft', /suk/ [suk] 'sugar'
Occurs in all open syllables and following non-labials in closed syllables.

[ʊ] lowered and fronted close back rounded vowel /pul/ [pʊl] 'chicken'
Occurs following labials in closed syllables.

Oral – Mid

/e/ [e] half-close front spread vowel /sekle/ 'to hoe', /pey/ 'homeland'
Occurs usually in open syllables and, very rarely, in closed syllables.

/o/ [o] half-close back rounded vowel /zohe/ 'ear', /hot/ 'tall'
Occurs usually in open syllables and, very rarely, in closed syllables.

Oral – Low

/ɛ/ [ɛ] half-open front spread vowel /pɛl/ 'spade', /bwɛ/ 'to drink'
Occurs usually in closed syllables not ending in y, but may also occur in open syllables.

/ɔ/ [ɔ] half-open back rounded vowel /lapɔt/ 'door', /čɔ/ 'heart'
Occurs usually in closed syllables, but may also occur in open syllables.

The pairs /o/ & /ɔ/, and /e/ & /ɛ/ contrast in identical environments in open syllables preceding silence. In all other positions, whilst the distribution is almost mutually exclusive, no definitive rule governs all occurrences.

/a/ [a] open central spread vowel /aha/ [aha] 'macaw', /bata/ [bata] 'illegitimate child'
Occurs in open syllables.

[æ] open front spread vowel /kat/ [kæt] 'four', /nak/ [næk] 'bow'
Occurs in closed syllables except preceding ŋ.

[ʌ] half-open central spread vowel /laŋ/ [lʌŋ] 'tongue'

Occurs in closed syllables ending in ŋ.

NB Where [a] is the nucleus of an open syllable not preceding silence, but followed by a closed syllable with nucleus [æ], the [a] tends to be fronted to a point between [a] and [æ]. For example: /bagaž/ [bạgæž] 'baggage'

Nasals

/ɛ̃/ [ɛ̰̃] or [ɛ̰̃] front spread nasal vowel varying between half-open and half-close positions /bɛ̃)/ [bɛ̰̃] 'bath'
/čɛ̃be/ [čɛ̰̃be] 'to grasp'

Occurs in open syllables, and occasionally in closed syllables (preceding t, k and ž).

/ã/ [ạ̃] open (slightly raised) central spread nasal vowel /ãthe/ [ạ̃the] 'to enter'
/plãš/ [plạ̃š] 'board'

Occurs in all syllable types.

/õ/ [õ] half-open back rounded nasal vowel /bõ/ 'good', /mõte/ 'climb up'

Occurs in open syllables.

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

1. Utterance final consonants are unreleased.

2. Plosives following Ṽ within a word exhibit pre-nasalization, the effect being akin to the insertion of the homorganic nasal consonant (N) between the Ṽ and the plosive.

Ex: /ãba/ [ã̪mba] 'below'

Similarly other consonants exhibit pre-nasalization with the insertion of n:

/ãlɛ/ [ã̪nlɛ] 'above'

3. All vowels adjacent to N exhibit slight nasalization, especially where V precedes N, producing the onset of nasalization in the preceding V. Where V is juxtaposed between two nasal consonants in the same word, V appears as Ṽ.

Ex. /mɛne/ [mɛ̃ne] 'to lead/take'.

Thus /nume/ 'to call/name' appears to have a ũ vowel: [nũme]; but there is no contrastive ũ in a non-nasal environment.

4. There is a further nasalization feature found in one specific grammatical context, where the direct object /li/ becomes contracted to a suffix /-l/ on the verb. In such a case, where the final consonant of the verb is N, the nasalization of the N is carried over onto the following V and suffix l.

Ex: /li fime li/ → /li fime-l/ [li fimẽĩ] 'he smoked it'.

5. An initial ĩ has been found in one or two Portuguese loan words, but not elsewhere.

Ex: /ĩžesõ/ 'injection'

Examples of contrast between V and Ṽ.

/šɛ/	'expensive'	/šaže/	'laden'	/bɔ/	'side'
/šɛ̃/	'dog'	/šãže/	'to change'	/bõ/	'good'
/sɛk/	'dry'	/pat/	'paw'	/lɔ/	'when'
/sɛ̃k/	'five'	/pãt/	'steep'	/lõ/	'long'

APPENDIX B

WORD LISTS FOR KARIPUNA CREOLE

NOUNS

aha	macaw
ahɛ̃ye	spider
alimɛt	match
amak	hammock
asyɛt	plate
bači	field
bag	ring
bakɔv	banana
bato	boat
bɛk	beak
bha	arm
biš	deer
buče	flower
bwa	wood/stick
čig	jaguar
čilɔt	trousers
čimun	child
čɔ	heart
dã	tooth
dãbwa	forest
duhi	rice
dwɛt	finger
ǰife	fire
ǰilo	water
ǰisã	blood
ǰisɛl	salt
ǰize	egg
fahin	flour/grated manioc
fey	leaf
fizi	shotgun
flɛ̃š	arrow
fɔmi	ant
ghɛn	seed
gɔž	throat
gu	taste/flavour
haǰe	weeds/grass
hat	mouse
hoho	twins
hɔl	wheel
hɔš	stone
kaka	faeces/anything left over
kan	sugar cane
kanu	canoe
kay	fish scale
kaymã	alligator
kaz	house
kɔ	body
koki	shell
kulɛv	boa constrictor/manioc squeezer
kuto	knife
kwak	manioc meal
lačo	tail
lafimi	smoke
lafyɛv	fever/malaria
lahivye	river
lalin	moon
lame	hand
laŋ	tongue
lapli	rain
lapo	skin

lašɛ	flesh/meat
lešɛl	ladder
lɛ̃ž	clothes
lohaž	thunder
lõbhi	navel
mahaka	rattle
mak	mosquito
manahɛ	sieve
mãš	handle
mãyɔk	manioc
mun	people
nak	bow
nik	nest
nwaž	cloud
nwit	night
ɔm/wɔm	man/husband
pagay	paddle
pay	husk
pičit	child/young
pikã	sting/thorn
plim	feather
pothin	chest (anat.)
pul	chicken
pwasõ	fish
pye	foot
sab	machete
savan	swamp
seapã	snake
sinal	flute
soley	sun
suku	darkness
susuhi	bat
šat	cat
šɛ̃	dog
tawahu	turtle
tɛt	head
thas	track/footprints
thɛ̃	noise
tɔči	tortoise
vã	wind
van	belly
wey	eye
yan	vine
zɛl	wing
zo	bone
zohãž	orange
zɔŋ	finger nail
žam	leg
žunu	knee

VERBS

abitwe	be accustomed to
akuše	give birth
aple	call/be named
asi	sit
ašte	buy
ãthe	enter
bake	embark/get into
bat	hit (with instrument)
bay	give
bɛ̃ye	bathe
bhiga	fight
blaǰe	chat
blese	injure
bwɛ	drink
čihe	take off/out
čue	kill

dãse	dance
dhɔmi	sleep
ǰi	say
fãde	tear
fɛ	make/do
fini	finish
fleše	shoot arrow
gade	look at
gã/gãye	have
ghaže	grate
glise	slip
hale	pull
hele	shout
hete	live/stay
hive	arrive
ide	help
khoše	peel
koze	talk
kɔ̃tã	like
kuhi	run
kumase	begin
kupe	cut
kute	listen
lave	wash
le	want
mahe	tie
maše	walk
mãže	eat
mɔde	bite
muhi	die
obeye	obey
pagay	paddle
peše	fish
phã	fetch
puse	grow/push
puve	be able
save	know
sɔči	leave/come out
suse	suck
šãte	sing
šãže	change
šɔ̃že	miss/be homesick for
tãde	hear
thavay	work
thuve	find
tɔ̃be	fall
tuse	cough
vãde	sell
vihe	turn/return
vin/vini	come
vole	jump/fly
wɛ	see
žite	throw (away)
žue	play
žuhe	curse

ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS etc.

asey	enough
blã	white
boku	many
bomaše	cheap
bɔ̃	good
byã	well
či/piči	small
dhɛt	straight
dhɔl	funny
du	hard

dus	sweet
fačige	tired
fad	bland
fahuš	wild
fã	tame
fɛb	weak
fin	thin/fine
fu	mad
fwɛ	cold
gaɣa	healthy
ghã	old/grand
gho	big
hɛd	stiff
hiš	rich
hõ	round
hot	tall
huž	red/ripe
hɛ̃	only
khube	curved/bent
kle	clear/bright
las	tired
laž	wide
lɔ̃	long
lis	smooth
make	patterned/marked
malad	ill
malize	difficult
mayɛ̃	sort of/quite
mɛg	thin/slim
mɛm	same
mi	ripe
move	bad
mu	soft
nɛt	clean/tidy
nɔv	new
pahe	ready
pezã	heavy
phɔš	almost
plɛ̃	full
puhi	rotten
sal	dirty
sãble	like
sɛk	dry
solid	sturdy
sɔm	clouded/opaque
sɔt	dim-witted
šak	each
šaže	laden
šɛ	dear
šo	hot
šwit	tasty
tahot	plenty/many
thãpe	wet
this	sad/quiet
tho	too
thɔp	too much
tukhi	raw
tut	all
tužu	still/yet
vid	empty
vilẽ	ugly
vit	fast
vye	old
vyat	green/unripe
wɔt/nɔt	other/another
žoli	pretty
žɔn	yellow
žun	young

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